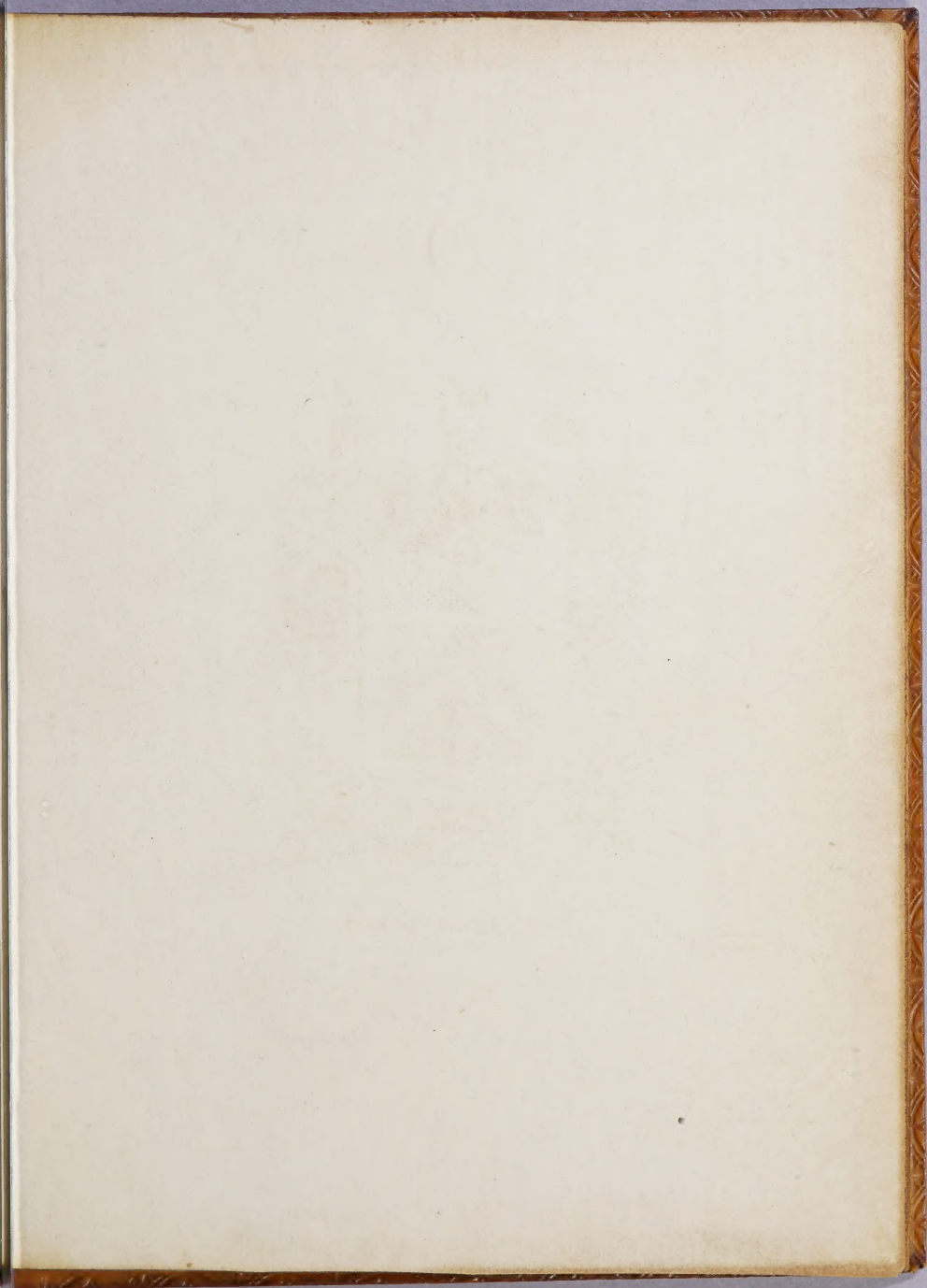




John Carter Brown.



1812

448

Separation Examined:

OR, A

TREATISE

VVherein the grounds for Separation
from the Ministry and Churches of *England*
are weighed, and found too light. The pra^uise
proved to be not onely unwarrantable, but like-
wise so hurtful to the Churches, that Church-
Reformation cannot with any comfort go forward,
so long as such Separation is Tolerated.

Also an humble request presented to the Congre-
gational Divines, that [since the differences between
them and the Classical-Divines are very small] they
would please to strike in with the Classical-Divines in car-
rying on the worke of Reformation, before the
Inundation of these corrupt Opinions,
have destroyed both Ordinances
and Religion.

By *Gi. Firmin* Minister to the Church in *Sbalford* in *Essex*.

1 COR. I. 10. *Now I beseech you, brethren, by the name of our Lord Iesus Christ,*
that yee all speake the same thing, and that there be no Schismes among you.

Judicabit autem & eos qui schismata operantur, qui sunt immanes, non habentes
Dei dilectionem, suamque utilitatem potius considerantes quam unitatem
Ecclesiae, propter modicas & quaslibet causas magnum & gloriosum corpus
Christi conscindunt & dividunt, &c. Irena l. 4. c. 62.

Cavenda sunt autem, fratres dilectissimi, non solum quae sunt aperta & manifesta,
sed & astutae fraudis subtilitate fallentia, &c. haereses invenit & schismata, quibus
subverteret fidem, veritatem corrumperet, scinderet unitatem, Cypr. de unit.
Eccles.

LONDON, Printed by *R. I.* for *Stephen Bowtell*, at the
Bible in Popes-head-Alley. 1652. n

JOHN CARTER BROWN.

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Separation



To the Reverend the Ministers of
 London, the Authors of the *Vindication of the*
Presbyteriall Government and Ministry, &c.
 Printed, 1650.

Fathers and Brethren :



He goodnesse of God, manifested of old to *England* (in causing the Sun of his Gospel to rise early upon this Nation, and to finde such entertainment in the hearts of the Supream Power, that it was the first Nation that ever received the Gospell with the countenance of publick Authority, having the first Christian King that ever was) is knowne to

the whole Christian world ; his goodnesse in these latter dayes, since he tooke from our necks the Anti-christian yoke, hath been also wonderfull, honouring the Ministers of his Gospel with such Holinesse, Learning, Ministeriall abilities, and successe in their labour in converting many, and setting up the power of godlinesse in this Nation, that he hath not honoured any Nation more ; nay (without pride it may be spoken) his Free Grace hath not honoured any Nation so much in these respects, as this *English* Nation ; but now in our dayes the Ministry, which God hath thus honoured, is as much dishonoured, and that by such, who cannot but acknowledge (their owne mouthes have spoken it) that what Spirituall good they have received, it was wrought by the Ministry ; and now we finde scorning, deriding, separating from the Ministry, and many not so much as stepping over their thresholds,

to heare them, who were the first instruments of their good (if they have any, as some we hope have) and yet the Ministers are the same they were before; yea, some repenting, that ever they bestowed so much paines and time to follow the Minister, as one that lives but foure or five miles from *Dedham* hath said, He repented that he followed that eminent Servant of God, Mr. Rogers so much, to heare his preaching. While I observed these things, and considered into what a sad condition we are fallen, and read over your *Vindication*, in which I saw a holy, meeke, and true Christian spirit breathing, calling upon the Congregationall men to joyne with you; certainly I thought that Booke deserved a courteous Christian answer from the ablest of our Congregationall men: what they have done towards it I know not, (being little acquainted with affaires abroad, being locked up in much sadness of spirit at home) but I thought with my selfe, that being I was numbred among the Independents (though I am the weakest, and most worthy the holy Lord should turne me out of his holy Work) laying other things together (which I have mentioned in the Epistle to the Reader) I resolved to improve the little Talent the Lord had given me, in examining the grounds of these practices, and to stand up in the defence of such Ministers, who I saw were deare to Christ, and whom in holinesse, learning, and abilities, the Lord had honoured farre before my selfe. And now (my Fathers) the quarrell is not only with you, because you are Presbyteriall Ministers, the quarrell is with the whole Ministry, for this spirit hath infected even some in *New England*, and I beleevē will cause more troubles there in those Churches, then ever the Bishops did, though they threatned them much. What are the practices of some, and what are the feares of the worthy Ministers there, I understand by Letters. I doe not, I dare not censure the Congregationall Churches here, some of the Ministers I know to be holy, and reverent (I wish I had such grace) many Members no doubt are really godly; but had I not lived in *New England*, and seene the Churches there, by what I heare of divers, and what I know by some Churches here, I should have been convinced that Independent (as it is here called) Government, was never of Christs institution. I have observed few people that come once to stand up for Independency, but they grow very tender (as they call it) towards corrupt Opinions, if not leavened with them themselves, not allowing a Minister to speake against them; yea, and those, whom I tooke to be the soberest and best grounded Christians, have not stuck to Censure *New England* sharply, for being too strict against those which they call, Non-fundamentall Er-

The Epistle Dedicatory.

rors; and I wish that some Ministers were not sicke of that policie, to plead for Toleration of such Opinions, esteeming it a peice of true Christian wisdom to be silent, and not to meddle, but comply with all Opinionists, especially, if they conceive them to be not in the fundamentals, which are but a few.

Hierome thought it was *Augustines* honour, that he so strongly Aug. Epist. opposed the Heresies of his time, that all the Hereticks hated him; to oppose by Argument is good, yea and discountenance the contumacious is not amisse; but it is now an honour for a man to be silent. For your parts (my Fathers) you and the godly Presbyterians of *England*, are esteemed the causes of all these troubles; yea, I observe by Letters, which my selfe and others have received from the Divines of *New England*, that some have informed them, as if you were the causes of the second Warre, when Duke *Hamilton*, and Lord *Goring*, &c. arose. Also that you are so adverse to the Congregationall Churches here, that you had rather joyne with the Common Enemy, and hazzard your owne Liberties, then enjoy your Liberties with your Brethren, the Congregationall men; but you have I thinke sufficiently cleared your selves from these aspersions in your *Vindication*, yea, and so can the Congregationall men cleare you, I beleeve; there is one report that goes for truth, and that amongst persons of note, and upon that ground I perceive, I meane some men here, they much satisfie themselves in this scorne cast upon you, viz. That the Assembly of Divines, when things were likely to settle on the Presbyterian side, should determine, *That Congregationall Ministers should not be allowed any publicke place to preach in, nor should be allowed any publick maintenance.* This is certainly beleeved by men of note, I wish the truth were cleared; I am not ignorant what provocation it was, to have your people taken from you, &c. but yet I can hardly beleeve the Assembly to be so hard to their Brethren.

Further (but that I am too meane to move, and know not whether my motion be good or no in your thoughts) I could heartily wish, you would please to declare, how farre you could yeeld to the Congregationall Brethren: you have hinted some things in your *Vindication*, Pag. 119, 121. which imply much; but if it were thought meet to speake out a little more fully, then should our *New England* Divines clearly understand where the greatest cause of this dis-union lyes, against all false reports that are sent to them.

And now (my reverend Fathers) I beseech you accept of this testimony of the honour I owe you, having ventured after many resoluti-

The Epistle Dedicatory.

ons to the contrary (fearing my weaknesse) to dedicate this Treatise to you, it being the greatest desire of my heart to see the Kingdome of Christ, first exalted in my owne wretched heart, and then to see Classicall, and Congregationall men joyning together, with one shoulder to set up his visible Kingdome in *England*, opposing Errour and Schisme, and Christ riding in Triumph upon his white Horse, conquering soules by his poore Instruments, that once it may be said of *England*, *The Lord blesse thee, O habitation of Justice, and mountaine of Holinesse.*


r. 31. 23.

*So prayeth he, who is unworthy to be called
your Fellow-labourer in the Lord :*

Jan. 19. 1651.

Giles Firmin.

To



I Shall briefly give you an account what moved me to undertake this taske : 1. I observed it very common among Christians, when we have beene speaking about some Minister, godly, eminent, &c. against whom no objection can be made ; but if he were a

2. I received two Letters from New England from a worthy Divine, one some longer time since, the other but lately, in which there were these passages: In the first, which was writ after the overthrow of Duke Hamilton he hath this passage, We doe not know what to pray for in your behalfe: God hath removed adversaries,

It's the wonderment of this side of the world, that you that are
B 3 godly.

godly and may agree, yet will not. Neither doth my conscience accuse me in this point, I hope I shall cleare it by the ensuing Discourse.

3. Among the many crimes charged upon the Independent Churches, I have noted these two especially; 1. That they are but a backe doore for Errours and Heresies. 2. That they regard nothing but their owne interest, so long as they have their liberty, though there are Ministers as godly, able, and learned, and many hundreds of true visible Churches in the Nation besides theirs, yet they regard not them, nor their comfort; being therefore set downe by Mr. Edwards in his Catalogue of Independents, I thought I would cleare my selfe of all these things, and though I be but amongst the meanest, and not worth the regarding, yet to discharge my selfe, and to have my spirit free, when ever God shall visit us for these Divisions, Errours, Heresies, &c. [for what can we expect but some rod, if we continue in the frame we now are in?] I have made bold humbly to addresse my selfe to our Congregational Divines, to beseech them, to take those offers, which the Presbyteriall brethren make for agreement, that so we may strengthen one another against the common adversaries, that trouble our Reformation.

I thought to have taken occasion here to cleare my selfe from what Mr. Edwards had writ concerning me, but the man being dead, I rather let it alone, (for sin, I thanke God, he hath charged me with none) I know, if ever the Lord bring such an unworthy wretch as I am to heaven, I shall not beare Mr. Edwards a grudge for what unkindnesse he hath offered to me here. But whereas Mr. Edwards hath branded me for an Independent; some of (miserable) Colchester have told me that I have altered my principles; but I know no reason why the one should charge me to be an Independent, nor the other for departing from my principles; for I never declared any thing in publike, but onely once, which was concerning the matter and forme of a visible Church: for the government of the Church never troubled me, but how to have the people reformed, and scandalous persons debarred from the seales of the Covenant, and persons brought into a posture fit for Discipline, but what is this to Independency? Once also I expressed this, that I conceived, a Church organized, and walking regularly might execute all the power of the Keyes within it self. I never expressed any thing more there concerning Church-works, but did labour to keep alive the old truths, which I found my heart had more need of, then to preach

preach about Church-government in such a Towne, as that was. But if you say, though I did not expresse it openly, yet I was an Independent in my judgement : but how can men charge me with that, who neither in publike, nor private they ever heard me expresse? but then to deale plainly I shall set down what manner of Independent then I was, and then you shall see how much I am altered. In these points I did joyne with the Congregational-men.

First, I thought none but visible Saints to be fit matter for a Church.

Secondly, I thought a promise from the people to subject themselves to Church-discipline was of very great concernment, to carry on Discipline with strength and comfort, as likewise to subject themselves to all other Ordinances, as became Christians.

So the Belgick Churches.

Thirdly, though I did owne the Churches of England for true Churches, yet because for want of Catechising and Discipline, they were overgrown with ignorance and prophanenesse : I did desire the grossly ignorant and prophane to stay a while, before I gave their children the seale of Baptisme, that having got knowledge, and conversation freed from scandall, the Ordinance might be administred with more comfort.

Fourthly, I thought that if Churches were now constituting, the Officers should not receive any into Church-fellowship against the consent of the people, giving sufficient prooffe against them.

Fifthly, I thought the Officers ought not excommunicate any person, If the people did not consent to them [not that a Church must be obstructed, if two or three have a minde to be crosse.]

Sixthly, I thought a particular Church organized to be the first subject of the power of the Keyes, and according as Mr. Cotton held it out: but this I did not expresse publicly.

Seventhly, I did somewhat question whether the Officers of one Church had power to excommunicate in another Church.

But in these points I was no Independent.

First, I could not be clear that the people were the first subject of the power of the Keyes.

Secondly, neither that the Fraternity had power to ordain formally.

Thirdly, that a Minister should preach onely as a gifted brother out of his owne place.

Fourthly, I could not consent to have the godly people taken away from a godly Presbyterian, into an Independent Church.

Fifthly, I could not approve that Independent Churches should refuse

refuse to communicate with Presbyteriall Churches, though there were good store of visible Saints, for want of an explicite Covenant.

By this time, I hope I shall be no ranke Independent: But where is then my changing of my principles? let these men prove it, for I am the same still, onely since I read Mr. Hudson, I doe somewhat waver about the first subject of the Keyes and this is all my change.

That my minde may be cleared against whom I write; I observe Separatists are not all of a size; some separate from Ministers & Churches, and get into their private houses, owne no officers, but please themselves with their owne gifts and opinions; these are the persons whom I chiefly aime at, as such that so trouble us, that no Church-discipline can hold so long as they stand.

Others live in places where there are visible and reall Saints, the Ministry goodly and able, yea, it may be called to the place by these persons, but because they cannot have all they would picking a quarrell with the Ordination of their Minister, &c. they choose some other Minister in some other Towne, and so depart from the Presbyteriall to a Congregational Church, continuing still in the same Parish; It is well these men hold up Ordinances and Officers, yet the grounds of their practice the ensuing Discourse will try. I am sure, peace and unity among Churches cannot possibly stand with this practice; it is very sad that we should not yeeld a little, where we may, nay where we ought, for peace with our brethren, whom we cannot but judge holy and sincere.

If there should sometimes fall out a quotation somewhat sharp, yet I pray doe not thinke that I apply it to all Separatists, but to some among them, who may deserve it.

What successe my poore endeavours shall finde, I know not, I looke for little good they shall doe amongst the Separatists, who with an imperious scorn neglect to lister to, or read any thing, which tends to overthrow their practice; and though they be so confuted, as they are not able to answer a word, yet they scorne to acknowldge their error, and returne to the Congregations, from which they have separated, which to me is a clear demonstration, that however these men pretend conscience, yet it is no such thing; for were these men lead by a pure conscience, considering how they separate from holy men, such also as have beene instruments of their soules good, considering also how they weaken their hands, grieve their spirits, they would heare, read, pray, take any course, that they might be sure to be found in the truth. But I leave the successe to God, my desire was, to serve my Generation, and there I rest.

Separation

Separation Examined.

I Will not trouble my selfe to prove that there is a visible Church upon the Earth, or true visible Churches in *England*, I thinke there are none that owne the Scriptures, who will deny the former, though there are some who deny the latter, unlesse I meane the Congregationall Churches, which they will acknowledge to be Churches, but none else; yet many of those, whom I write against, doe not owne them, for though they have opportunity, and may joyne with such Churches, yet they refuse to doe so, being unwilling (I perceive) to come under, or maintaine any Officers; I wish there be not too strong arguments to prove, that *Covetousnesse* and *Ambition* reigne too much amongst this kind of Separatists, yet because the proving that there are true visible Churches in *England*, will be of great consequence to the following Discourse (as being the ground-work of it:) I will therefore produce one Argument to prove it, and if I can prove that, then it will necessarily follow, there is a true visible Church on the earth; which (as I said) I thought no Christian dares deny. But what dares not the vile heart of man think, say, or doe, if God give it up, to its owne blindness, and wickednesse?

Master Burroughs making mention of Schusselburgius, who collected the Sects, Opinions, and wayes of men soone after *Iren.* pag. Luther saith, *There is not any one strange Opinion amongst us now, but* 236. *you shall finde it amongst them in terminis; onely I remember not that one that hath taken some, who though they acknowledge the Scripture, yet thinke there is no visible Church on the earth.*

Many were the errours that were confuted, condemned in the first Synod in *New England*, which errours I finde here in *England*, but there was not this errour amongst them all (to my remembrance:) it was wont to be said of *Africa*, that every
C
yeare

yeare it produced a new Monster, but now it must be said of *England*, that it hath produced such a Spirituall Monster, as no Nation, that owned the Scriptures, ever did before. The Lord save us from our owne hearts. But I will now prove the *Thesis*, as I said before, there are true visible Churches in *England*.

Where there are many Societies of visible Saints, and true Ministers, consenting together to worship God in his holy Ordinances, there are true visible Churches.

But in *England*, there are many Societies of visible Saints, and true Ministers consenting together to worship God in his holy Ordinances, *Ergo*, in *England* there are many true visible Churches.

The Major is so plaine, that none who know what a visible Church is, and what the Churches in the Gospel were, but must needs yeeld it.

Here are the essentiall causes of a Church; *Ergo*, here is a Church.

First, here is the materiall cause, Visible Saints, the Ministers also, as visible Saints, help make up the matter; but as they are *Ministers* they make the Churches Organicall (which is more.)

2 Here is the formall cause, their consenting to worship God, &c. he that yeelds the essentiall causes, and yet denies the effect, hath lost his reason.

A Church, is any company of Saints in body, to set up what Ordinances of God they know; This is a true Church, and
In *Hes.* 8. 1. here God dwels, saith Mr. *Burroughs*.

He speakes of a Church, as it is a Homogeneall body, but I goe further; the Separatists indeed will catch hold of his definition, as *Cyprian* saith, the Schismaticks in his time did of that text, in *Matth.* 18: 20. to which he answered very well, *De unita Eccles.* and hence they will conclude, we are Saints in body; *ergo* we are true Churches.

But I pray, are there not visible Saints also in the Churches, from which you irregularly (as I shall prove after) did separate? Are they not as good as your selves? Did not you attain to that visibility of Saint-ship, which you have, while you were in those Churches? Doe you set up the Ordinances of God so farre as you know (or may know, if error doth not hinder) as they doe from whom you have separated? Nay, you cannot doe

doe it, for you neither have men fit for Office, nor will you endure to come under Officers; and therefore if you looke into the ninth verse of the same Chapter, you shall finde Mr. Burroughs saying, *That those, who love to live without Ordinances, from under the government of Christ, are those that love to live in the Wilderness.* His words may be applyed to many of these Separatists, who call for separation from the word, as well as to those who are in the world. But to my Argument.

All the quarrell will be about the Ministers, and the consenting together, &c. as for Mr. Burroughs phrase, there being *in Body*, this they like well, but so are not those visible Saints I mention, say they. But to take away that Cavill, and so to returne to the Ministers, you may know what Mr. B. meanes by being *in body*, by shewing what makes a Church Covenant; saith he, *I know nothing more is required, but to manifest their assent, to joyne with that Body, to set up all the Ordinances of Christ, so farre as they know.* And doe not those visible Saints actually manifest their assent by their continuall attendance upon their Officers in all the Ordinances of God, and maintaining their Officers to that intent, that they may have the Ordinances of Christ set up amongst them? Shall the want of an Adjunct null the Church, when as they do the very thing, which they should expresse? Put case you expresse your assent, and doe not the things which you expresse your assent unto, are you therefore a Church, because of your expressing your assent? What then are those who doe the things, though they doe not expresse their assent in words, but in Acts? This is good, and sufficient to prove the essence, though both expression and doing is *better*, but of this more after.

But the Ministers are those who spoyle all; there are those who cannot deny there are Ordinances, but there are none to administer them; and this was the reason, which one of the chiefe Members of a Church in London (who did use to Prophesie (as they call it) in the absence or wearinesse of the Pastor) gave to an honest man, who was troubled, because he fell off from the Church, and exercising his gifts, and turned Seeker. I name not the man, nor the Church, but it is too true.

Now suppose I could not prove the Ministers to be true Ministers, yet those visible Saints which I named before, and those whom you call *Presbyterians*, doe meet together, conferre, pray, and fast together; watch one over another, and so, if you will

*Facient favos
respe, faciunt
Ecclesijs Mar-
cionita. Tertul.*

*The Presbyterians speake
the same Language, if the
words in body
please you, the
Correlatum of
Ecclesiasticall
Power is a peo-
ple embodied
in a Church, or
a Spirituall cor-
poration, Gi-
le/p. Aar. rod.
191. Iren. p.
100.*

consider them as Homogeneall Bodies, they are as good Churches as those Separatists, which have no Officers; therefore still there are true visible Churches in *England*, besides the Separatists, and so my Argument stands firme. But I will prove there are many true Ministers, even amongst those, whom you call Presbyterian Ministers, thus:

Where there are men sufficiently qualified by God, orderly (at least for substance) called to the Ministry, and doe that worke, which Christ appointed his Ministers to doe, there are true Gospel-Ministers.

But in many of the Churches of *England*, there are such men, ergo in many of the Churches of *England* there are true Gospel-Ministers.

I dare venture farre here, but that I would save my selfe against those whom I oppose.

I put in the word *many*, because I am sure I shall maintaine my ground, for why should I have undertaken to prove that all the Ministers in *England* are true Gospel-ministers? and that in every Parochiall Congregation in the blinde corners of *England*, there are such visible Saints, as ought to be, in the constitution of a Church (enough I meane to make a Church) I should have had a hard taske; but by this word *many* I include abundance both Churches and Ministers, besides our Congregationall Ministers; now to my Argument.

The major cannot be denied, for all the causes are there set downe, which are required to a true Minister.

1 The efficient cause, God;

2 Materiall cause, a man sufficiently qualified, I meane according to *Pauls* phrase, 2 *Tim.* 2. 2. *εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν*, the same word with 2 *Cor.* 2 16 who is sufficient? two distinctions would cleare this latter text, but I spare the reader.

3 Formall cause, orderly called, I put in (at least for substance) because I would include many of the Presbyterianall men.

4 Finall cause, *Ephes.* 4. 12. the end of the Ministry is, for the perfecting of the Saints, for the worke of the Ministry, for the edifying of the Body of Christ. So that no rationall man can deny the major.

Now for the minor, that there are many such Ministers in *England*, we shall see;

1 For the efficient cause, there is no controversie there.

2 For the materiall, that they are sufficiently qualified in that sense above mentioned, who can deny it? many, yea abundance qualified

qualified with reall grace, and experimentall workings on their owne hearts, besides their Ministeriall qualifications, and these many others have, who it may be have not the former, as could be wished ; but I hope, though some doe whisper, yet they will not undertake to defend it, that there can be no true Minister, unlesse he have reall Grace: I have heard some that have affirmed as much, but they are not such as dare undertake the Question. But as for Ministeriall qualifications, I doe believe the gifts of Ministers were never larger then now ; since the Apostles dayes never were the truths of God more clearly layed open then now ; God doth seeme to give out such large measures in these dayes, as it were in opposition to this wild Generation, that when they are crying out, there are no Ministers, God confutes them, by pouring out more of his Spirit in point of Ministeriall abilities upon them, then before ; indeed where other holy men have gone before in such Parishes, and places thereabouts, we finde not that preaching workes now, as it did when it came new to the places, yet I say the gifts of Ministers now are as strong, as they were before ; but this is one of the Ministers heavie burdens in our dayes, their Trading is dead.

Thirdly, formall cause : Our Ministers, abundance of them are orderly called (or substance:) there are but two things that I know of to make up this call, Election and Ordination : For election, many, if not all, of the godly Ministers are elected by the people, some by the whole Parish, and others by the best in the Parishes. But you say the Patron presents : It is true, but not so, as to bring one in against the consent of the people : Verily for Patrons to present an unworthy Minister, and bring him in against the consent, especially of the godly, and orthodox Christians, it is an act of cruell Tyranny, and worthy of a Petition to the Parliament to get such an horrible abuse removed, but you have a way now to helpe your selves against scandalous Ministers by the Civill-power, and should have had it by Church-power, if once Discipline were set up.

But if the Minister be not an unworthy man, though the Patron did present, as in former times, and he came in without the consent of the people at the first, but had it afterwards ; this makes his election good : Hear what the *New England* Ministers say to this point ; *Yet sometimes the peoples acceptance and approbation af-*

Ans. to the
32. Quest.
p. 69.
V. Ames
Conf. 1.4.
c. 25. q. 7.

terward may supply the want of election at the first, as Jacobs after consent and acceptance of Leah, made her to be his wife, though he chose her not at the first; and by this we hold the calling of many Ministers in England may be excused, who at first came into their places without the consent of the people. So Dr. Ames.

But are all these Separatists so regular? I doubt not: I can give instance of a *Weaver*, who lived in a Towne, where I had my abode for a little time; the Minister of the place was a very able man, regularly called, and inclining at that time to the Congregationall way; yet this *Weaver* (I thinke that was his calling) separated from him, and the other Christians, and had his owne society, to whom he did preach (as they said) but when the winde did settle in the Independent quarter; this *Weaver* had a minde to a Pulpit, but I hope then he will looke to his orderly calling; he will not dare to venture but by the Gospel-way, that now we shall judge; his way of election was this, as an honest Christian of the same Towne, and one of this mans friends told me, that Goodman B. an honest Carrier being a Sequestrator in the Towne, he puts him in, and this is one part of his calling, as for Ordination that is a Toy: But is this regular? then let these Separatists for ever hold their tongues; I know not, but if a Sequestrator may put a *Weaver* (let him be a godly and a pretty man, as some say he is, I love not to judge other folkes godlinesse, I have enough to doe at home) into a Parish, when as the people call him not, then may a Patron put in able and godly Divines into their Parishes with the peoples consent first or last; as the noble Earle of *Warwick*, I beleve hath helped many Parishes to as able godly Divines, as any one Sequestrator hath done. I could give the Reader instances of others, but so much I perceive by these kinde of men, that I little regard what they say, for if there lye any matter of advantage in their way, they will stretch their principles, as far as they please.

As for their sufficient qualification, which should make the materill cause of a Minister, we must not question them in our dayes: *Paul* indeed said, *Who is sufficient for these things?* our language is, *Who is not sufficient for these things?* much might here be said (I am privy to mine own insufficiency, and desire to bewail it) but let me propound one thing to these men, and see how they answer it. Amongst the opinions which Mrs. *Hutchison* had brought forth in *New Eng.* this was one, *That there was no inherent*

grace

grace in a beleever, no new creature, nothing but Jesus Christ, and he was the new creature; one of Mrs. Hutchisons followers, on a Lords day stood up in the Congregation, and would defend it against the learned and reverend Teacher, and told him the text was read so in the original, *If any man be in Christ, the new creature*, 2 Cor. 5. 17. *ἐν τῷ χριστῷ, καὶν κτίσις*, what can these men say to this that know not the Originall, nor Grammar, both which a man must know to answer this: so if another should defend a heresie, and tell you the text is so in the Hebrew: for the Jesuits subtle and crabbed disputations, we must not mention them, these men are doubtlesse sufficient; not but that I could allow a solid, humble, experienced, orthodox, and well-gifted Christian, called regularly, and set apart to the worke of the Ministry, with the neighbour-hood of some learned able Divine to have his recourse to, I say, I could allow such a one to preach in dark corners of the land. But when men will cry out of other Ministers for want of orderly calling, separate from them, and thus carry themselves, that the bones of their ambition sticke out, and then through unsoundnesse in opinion, though no way able, though not regularly called, yet they will get into Livings and Pulpits, this is abominable.

So much for Election, that part of their calling will hold; as for the other requisite, *Ordination*, to prove our Ministers have that also; (for the substance of it) here will lye the pinch of the controversie, therefore I reserve it for another place.

Fourthly, for the finall cause, here also the Ministers will appeare to be true Ministers; for conversion and edification, the Lord hath honoured the English Ministry with as much successe, as any Nation under heaven; the Lord hath set seale to hundreds of our Ministers, in giving them some soules in conversion, and building up many, according as are their severall gifts; and for a prooffe of it, let me appeale to your selves, who have thus separated from them: Cannot you say, that you have found God in their Ministry? I am sure your owne words must witness against divers of you, if you deny it, for you have acknowledged, by them you were first awakened, and brought home: Now I beseech you consider what you doe, you who are the soberest, and retaine the favour of God in your hearts: If Christ shall say to you, *why doe you deny these to be true Ministers? I owne them to be such, I have qualified them with Ministerial and personal*

sonal gifts; I have sealed to their Ministry, by making them my instruments to bring home many, and to build up those, who were brought home: I have often humbled, awed, cheered, refreshed the hearts of my people by them, your owne selves (who are mine) are witnesses of it, I found you out by them, &c. They had their call from the people, and though there were some circumstantiall defects in their setting apart to the worke, yet those they freely acknowledge, and I doe as freely pardon, will not my presence with them make up that defect in your hearts, still to owne them, and reverence them, as my Ministers, since I doe?

Now I say, what would you answer to the Lord Jesus? I doubt not, though many have their infirmities (as who have not many infirmities) yet Christ doth owne them for his Ministers, and Paul, or the Apostles, if they now were alive, would not deny it.

Obj^{ct}. If you say, that indeed God did goe along with the old Ministers, but not with these.

Ans^r. But the same argument you give against these Ministers from their Ordination, doth make as much against these old Ministers, as these now living, they were no true Ministers neither by your opinion.

2. We can say, that even with the labours of these Ministers doth Christ goe along, though not so much as he did before, when the Gospel came first into places, for edification we finde it, which is one end in that *Ephes. 4. 12.* and I pray take heed that your scorning of them, be no occasion to hinder their worke, for you must answer for it, what ever the Decrees of God be. So much for my first argument.

2. I would use a second argument to prove we have true Ministers, &c. And here I would propound one question to these men, who thus deny the Ministry: It is this, *Were there ever any true Ministers and Churches* (let me put in them also) *since the Apostles dayes*? I hope you will say yes: But I pray how long were there such Ministers and Churches? in which Century did there cease to be true Ministers, and true visible Churches? I suppose you will say, when Antichrist began (here now you would doe us a good turne, if you could make it out cleare to us when that was, that so we might know how long our miseries shall last) if so, then to be sure for the first three hundred yeares after Christ, which were times of persecution, yea, and divers yeares after, you must grant there were true Ministers.

Let

Let us then compare our Ministers, and Churches with them; for our Ministers, many are godly, as well as those, all the Ministers then were not truly gracious I beleve; nay by stories we can learne they were not. As for Ministeriall gifts, those who have skill to compare the workes, and Sermons of our Ministers now, with their workes and Homilies, shall finde that the Presbyterial Ministers are not behinde them, but in opening the doctrines of *Free-grace, Christ, promises*, which are the glory of the Gospel, as also for discovering of *Hypocrisie* (without any dishonour to those Ancients,) I may say they do excell them.

For the Churches, it is true, we know not what we should doe, if the Lord should call us to sufferings; but this we know, the same power, which carried them through, is able to carry us through: for losses of estates, leaving of their native Country, &c. I am sure *New England* hath gone very far with them for that kinde of suffering, and so have some here also, yea, and for not submitting to superstitious Ceremonies, and inventions of men in the worship of God, which they even in those times made nothing of: How many vaine rites and ceremonies were then used in Baptisme, * which our Ministers did never owne, but were silenced, &c. for lesse matters, yet these were the primitive Churches.

Besides those Ceremonies in Baptisme, there were other strange things used, which our Divines never owned, I say, in those primitive Churches.

As the Anointing of the baptized, As *Cyprian*, *It is necessary that the baptized person be anointed, &c.* yea, and puts much in it, as one may see, who reads those Epistles.

Tertullian also makes mention of this.

Hence *Fabianus* ordered, that this oyle should be prepared every yeare, and reprehended those, who kept it two or three yeares together, in *secunda Epist. and Episc. orient.* Hence also care was taken afterwards, that none but Bishops should make this, the Presbyters must not dare to doe it. *Sylvester in Concil. Rom.*

Also holy Vestures for the Ministers to be used onely in the Churches; many of ours never owned these, all have cast them away.

Also in the Lords Supper, the mixing of water with the wine, which how ever some say, it was because of the hot Coun-

By * *Tertul.*
Cyp. Ep. 59
The kiss-
ing of the
childe.

By *August.*
time there
were many

Ceremo-
nies added
Symb. ad
Catech. l. 4.
c. 1.

Lib. de Co-
ro. mil.

Ep. 70. 72.

Tertul. de
Bap.

Epist. Steph
ad Hil.

Epist. ad
omnes
Ortho.
Apol. 2.

tries, yet *Alexander*, who they say was the first that mixed wa-
ter with wine, doth not give that reason, but because *water and*
blood came out of Christs side. In *Justin Martyrs* time, it seemes
this was their manner also, but this was not the Institu-
tion.

Also we find severall Church-officers among them, as appears
by *Gaius* Bishop of *Rome*, who ordered, that all the orders in the
Church must ascend, from the door-keeper to the Bishop. *Ostia-*
rius, *Lector*, *Exorcista*, *Acolytus*, *Subdiaconus*, *Diaconus*, *Presbyter*,
Episcopus. The ordination of these Officers, with their Cere-
monies are after set downe in the fourth Council of *Car-*
thage.

If the Decretals of *Gaius* be of any Authority, all these
were in primitive Churches, before *Constantine* came to the Em-
pire.

More things I might adde, but I forbear.

And though there were many glorious Martyrs, yet all their
Church-members were not such, many did yeeld to the hea-
thenish Idolatry, when persecution began, yea, and there were foul
sins among them Churches, as Adultery, Whoredome (yea, even
among those, who had beene Confessors, as *Cyprian* affirms, *in-*
gemiscimus saith he, to see it) drunkenesse, swearing, and what
not, as any one may well gather, who is but a little versed in An-
tiquity, and by reading over the Canons made in their Councils,
we may learne what they were troubled with.

De unita
Ecles.

As for the Ministers, they also were ordained by Bishops
(though they were not such lordly ones as ours were) with
Presbyters joyning with them, this no man can deny that
knows any thing of those times; whence then I am bold to
affirme, that if there were true Ministers, and true visible Churches
in those times, even while they were under persecuting
heathenish Emperours, then there are true Ministers, and true vi-
sible Churches now in *England*, and if there be none now, nei-
ther were there any in those times; but I thinke no man is so im-
pudent to deny that there were true Ministers and Churches in
those times. I plead now for many Presbyteriall Ministers,
and their Congregations. So I have done with my second
Argument, which if I should draw into forme, it runnes
thus:

If there were true Ministers, and true visible Churches in the
first

first three hundred yeares after Christ, then there are true Ministers, and visible Churches now in *England*.

But the Antecedent is true, *ergo* the consequent is true.

Some we have that dote, they tell us, they expect men to be sent from God, and endued with extraordinary gifts, as were the Apostles, &c, and these are the men, who shall set up Churches, and reforme us. Good Lord, whither will our vile hearts carry us, if thou dost leave them?

These persons are not worth the answering, but yet let me say a little to them, and so passe on to the chiefe thing I intend.

For the gift of Tongues, I need not speake, what is necessary God hath given to most, and many excell in that gift.

For Miracles.

1 They were given but for that time, to help on the worke of the Ministry (as sauce doth meat) but now if God doth that by the Ministry of his Servants without Miracles, which he did then by the Ministry accompanied with Miracles (viz. *Convert, Edifie, Formalize, &c.*) this doth but more confirme our Ministry, and prove that God ownes these despised Ministers. The plaine word preached, hath made as good Christians, as preaching, and Miracles.

2 If any Body hath need of the gift of Miracles, then Master Eliot in *New England* hath, who now preaches to the *Indians*, and others with him; but God carrieth on his worke amongst the *Indians* without miracles.

3 Doe not you your selves beleeve the Scriptures to be the Word of God? if so, what need have you of such kinde of persons so gifted? The greatest Miracle which I desire to confirme me in the truth of the Scriptures, is to finde the power of Christ his Death, and Resurrection in my heart, without which I care not for miracles. But enough for these.

There are others, who having been Members of an Independent Church, where divisions have fallen out, and so have broke in peeces, they have said, that *Ministers are not fitted with a spirit of Government, to keep Churches in order, and therefore these are not times as yet for such Reformation*, I answer;

1 The more shame for your Church-Members, who are of such proud, and turbulent spirits, that godly and able Ministers are not able enough to governe them; those who come into Church

Communion with the awe of God upon their hearts, we can governe them; some such spirits we finde among the Independents, but if we could see more it would be better.

2 I wonder not at your Divisions, when I see what Principles some godly Congregationall men have gone by, for the ordering of their Church-Government.

3 Your Argument is as strong against the Apostles, for there were Heresies, and Schismes in their dayes.

But I leave these, and return to that, from whence I have made a digression; Having then proved there are true Ministers, and Churches in *England*, let us examine the grounds, why these men separate from these Ministers, and Churches; I conceive their grounds may be referred to one of these heads:

{ The Ministers,
 Either to { Or Worship,
 { Or the Congregation,
 { Or the place of meeting;

If there be any thing else that cannot so well be reduced to one of these, yet I am sure I shall meet with it, before I have done.

For the Ministers, they are indeed made the Dung of *England*, who are more scorned then they, especially the Presbyteriall men, be they never so holy, or learned? Whether there be just cause in respect of men, I leave it to God to judge; I am sure when Ministers were in honour, we found the Word had good effect, but since they came to be thus scorned, little good hath been done. I deny not but God may have a just quarrell against us, and give me leave (without offence) to propound the Reasons why.

1 The first I had rather conceale, because I should seem to spy out a mote in my Fathers, and Brethrens eyes, when I have a beame in my owne; but therefore I rather propound it, as I heard it from a Reverend and judicious Divine, a man of a gracious and moderate spirit, Mr. Nathaniel Rogers in *New England*. I was talking with him there, when the newes came of the Covenant that *England*, and *Scotland* entred into; the thing pleased him, and all our Churches exceedingly: This only, (said he) I have not heard of, That there hath been a generall Humiliation amongst the Ministers, for their yeelding so much to the superstitious inventions of that Hierarchy.

2 I conceive God may justly have a quarrell against us (the younger

younger sort of Ministers) for our wofull conformity to the Fashions of the times ; what long haire now doe we see most young Ministers weare, and if any new fond fashion comes up, who follows it sooner then they ? Who take more liberty here then Independent Ministers, the younger sort ?

3 There hath been a too great Idolizing of Learning, and abusing it in Sermons, by reciting of the Fathers, or School-men, some men fondly making, it may be, a quarter of their Sermons to be Latine, or Greek sentences out of them, and then turning them into English, to make people admire them, and conclude them to be great Schollars ; not but that it is lawfull to quote a Father, or a Schoole-man : but I speake of that excesse, and pride also, that went along with it, that they thought themselves so exalted above the people, and looked on them, as the Pharisees, *Joh. 7. 49.* Hence God doth now let Ministers and Learning be trampled upon. But this was not the fault of those godly men, who now are despised, as much as the worst.

4 There is in some young Ministers a too base esteeme of private Christians, that are not learned ; I have heard my selfe those, who have spoken very contemptibly of them, scorning they should have any hand in Church affaires ; now it is true, there are abundance of private Christians very weake, but some there are, solid, understanding men ; and though we doe not admit these to be Governours in the Church (unlesse chosen to the Office of a Ruling Elder, to joyne with us) yet Ministers shall finde sometimes, that they have no cause to repent, in giving an eare to what they say.

These things I have observed, and with (especially for the three latter) that God hath not brought us downe for them. I might have added, some young Ministers study more quint-essentiall Notions, curious Phanxies, and please people much with fine speculations about Christ, and Free Grace, but have left the old way of Preaching, which did the good. This Chymicall Divinity hath pleased mens eares, but not awed, nor humbled mens hearts ; it makes frothy, but not solid Christians.

But these are not to be imputed to all the Presbyterians, who are thus scorned.

But now to the Ministers.

The generall apprehension that these men have of the Ministers, is that they are Anti-christian Ministers, and what is more common in their mouthes then to call them so? This is a heaive charge, if it could be proved: but this terme *Anti-christian* is both a simple terme, a complexe Proposition, a Syllogisme, *i. e.* they think it sufficient prooffe to charge them with it, though hundreds of these know no more then a Babe, wherein the formality of Anti-christianisme doth consist, but every thing that displeases them, that is *Antichristian*; Infant Baptism is *Anti-christian*, the Ordination of Ministers is Anti-christian, singing of Psalmes is Anti-christian, it is prooffe sufficient, they have said it; now this seemes to me very strange, that those men, who Instrumentally,

1. Convert men to Christ.
2. Build up men in Christ.
3. Oppose Anti-christ to the utmost.
4. Who have cast off Anti-christ.
5. If they were under Anti-christs power, should soon finde his favour to be Fire and Faggot, yet these men to be called *Anti-christians*, I say with the Text, *The Lord rebuke thee, O Satan*: But if you will take *Anti-christ* in a large sence, why may not those be as truly called *Anti-christians*, who doe throw downe, what Ordinances Christ hath set up; as, *The Ordinance of the Ministry, giving his promise to be with it to the end of the world; the Baptizing of the infants of beleeving Parents; singing of Psalmes, any forme of externall Church-Government*; all these are throwne downe by most of you, and many walke above Ordinances. I say, may not these be called as truly *Anti-christians* in a large sence, who thus throw downe, what Christ hath set up, as well as those, who set up such Ordinances, as Christ never did set up? (which is one signe of Anti-christianisme.)

Exposi. on
Hof. first
Book, p.
162.

But if you would know what is properly Anti-christianisme, I pray take it from a farre more able man then my selfe, one well knowne, and that deserves honour, Mr. Burroughs; he well observed the madnesse of people, that cry out against any thing, that displeases them, that it is Anti-christianisme, then sets downe thus, wherein it consists.

1 *Whosoever shall obtrude any Doctrine upon the Church, to be beleev-
ed by their owne Authority.*

2 *The intrusion of such Offices, and Officers in the Church, as
meerly belong to the spirituall man.*

3 *The imposing of any Ordinance, or new Institution upon the
Church.*

4 *The*

4 *The imposing of Lawes so to binde Conscience, as the Lawes of Christ doe.*

This, saith he, is to set up another head. I need not adde the owning of the Pope as a visible Monarchical head over the Church, who doth all that, which Mr. Burroughs hath mentioned; but this then I desire, that any, who thus call the Ministers *Antichristians*, would charge them, and make it good, that they are guilty of any of these things, or else be ashamed for ever after to call faithfull Ministers of Christ, *Antichristians*.

But what colour have these men for this vile asperision, I never heard but onely this, their *Ordination*. The summe of all they say, amounts to this, *The Ministers of England stand by a Romish ordination; Ergo, They are no true Gospel, but Antichristian Ministers*, this is that, which makes the heavy stir in England.

For answer to this, I may say as the father of the blinde man, *He is of age, and can speake for himself*; so the Presbyterial Ministers are of ability sufficient to speake, and have spoken enough in answer to this cavill, to satisfie sober mindes; but what will satisfie unreasonable men? I am not very willing to insist upon this, because I can speak but little, which hath not beene spoken before (for the substance) but yet this being an ingredient unto the formall cause of a Minister (which I have mentioned before, and promised to prove, that for the substance of the Ordinance our Ministers have it) I must speake a few words in answer to their cavils against it.

The Ordination of these Ministers, say they, came from the Romish Synagogue, they also were ordained by Bishops, Ergo, They are no true Ministers, hence we separate from them.

I answer,

First, had I thought there had beene such a stirre in England about this, I should have laboured to have understood the minds of our Elders in New England about it; all the time I was there, I never heard the question moved, whether they did look on that Ordination they had here, as true (for substance) or not. But this I dare boldly affirme for them;

1 That they doe looke upon abundance of our Presbyteriall Ministers, as true Ministers of Christ.

2 I know that they will disapprove of the practice of some, who have separated from the Ministers, whom they have before chosen, and the godly Congregations, upon this notion, as I know.

I do honour the grace of divers of those Christians who separated, but Satan got into an Angel of light, and deceived
 know some have done, especially from that famous Congregation of *Dedham*, of which I dare say, that for a Parochial Congregation, there is not the like number of reall and visible Saints in any Congregation in *England*; I am sure there was not before this Separation was made; and for the Ministers I speake not of them, they are men well knowne. I wish I had nothing more to trouble me, then to live under that Ministry in that Congregation, I hope whereas now I am a sad man, I should be as chearfull as any man in *England*. Mr. *Burroughs* said, he could communicate in that Congregation, then it seemes hee did not question whether there were any true Ministers.

Object. But if you say, *Our New England Ministers doe renounce their Ordination which they had here, for they are ordained againe.*

See Answ. to 32. q. 70 *Answ.* Its true, they are ordained againe, but I never heard it was upon that ground, for let a Minister be ordained there in one Church, if there be cause of his removall, and so be elected in another Church, they ordaine him againe.

Thirdly, I can say this, our *New England* Ministers have often desired, and frequently admitted to preach in their Congregations, that went from hence, but were not ordained there.

But our Ministers of *New England* are here judged nothing worth, but are as contemptible as any, in the mouths of our Separatists, yet they are men of worth.

Secondly, I answer to what you say, *It came through, and from the Romish Synagogue.* If your argument have any force, you must cast it thus:

Those Ministers which stand by a *Romish Institution*, are no true Ministers of Christ. But the Ministers of *England* stand by a *Romish Institution*; Ergo, the Ministers of *England* are no true Ministers of Christ.

The major you will grant, and if we can prove the minor, our Ministers shall utterly renounce their *Ordination*, I dare undertake for them; but the minor is very false, they stand by no *Romish Institution*: for Ordination is none of their inventions, but instituted by the Lord Jesus himselve, long before Antichrist was. But your Argument runs thus:

Those Ministers which stand by an Institution of Christ descending

scending to them from the Apostles through the Church of Rome, they are no true Ministers of Christ.

But the Ministers of England stand by an Institution of Christ, descending to them from the Apostles through the Church of Rome, Ergo, They are no true Ministers.

This is the true meaning of your Argument, but the major is very false: shall the passing through Rome null the Institutions of Christ? did not the Scriptures, Sacraments, and what ever Ordinances we now have, descend to us from the Apostles through Rome? Shall we therefore cast them away? That Argument runnes as strong against our Baptisme, and any other Ordinance, with which though the Church of Rome mingled their inventions, did they therefore null the Ordinance? the vessels that were once dedicated to God by his owne Institution, though they were put into the house of *Nebuchadnezzars* gods, and those that were fit, very like used by *Belsazzar* to drinke wine in, when he praised the gods &c. they were not so much as new cast againe, but carried to *Jerusalem*.

Ezra 1.7.
ad fin.

I pray what doe you thinke of the judgement of Mr. *Johnson*? a man great, I am sure, among the brethren of the Separation (though the Separatists in our dayes make a tush at the judgement of any man, yea, although he were of the Separation; but yet consider the reasons which swayd him, and then judge.) The case was this, One that was a Minister in the Church of England, was after chosen Teacher to a separate Congregation, without any new *Imposing of hands*, this he undertakes to justifie thus:

1. *Imposition of hands is of God, and not an invention of man: It was not a post or threshold first brought by Antichrist into the Temple of God, but had therein afore Antichrist sate there.*

2. *Baptisme and Imposition of hands are joyned together among the principles of the foundation spoken of, Heb. 6. 2. therefore it ought to be regarded.*

3. *Imposition of hands is in the Church of Rome still given to the office of the Ministry, and in the name of the Lord, as they doe also still administer Baptisme.*

4. *We found not either precept, example, or ground in the Scripture binding us to the repetition of it.*

5. *The Priests and Levites in Israel becoming unclean, when afterward they were cleansed, retained still their places of being Priests, and Levites; and the children of the Priests and Levites succeeding after them, did administer without a new anointing, or new imposition of hands, &c.*

E

Thus

Thus then, as Mr. *Johnson* and Mr. *Ainsworth* opposed Rebaptization, because Baptisme is an Ordinance of God, which was had in the Church of *Rome*, before she fell into *Apostasie*, and hath been there continued ever since the Apostles times (how ever commingled with many inventions of their owne:) so Mr. *Johnson* defended the Ordination of that Minister, which he had in *England*, because Imposition of hands was in the Church of *Rome* from the Apostles times, before her *Apostasie*, and is there continued to this day, though mixed with many pollutions of their owne.

I pray onely note this, that whereas I say, they stand by their *Ordination*, I doe not meane that onely, but also they have the election of the people, of which I spake before, and that the Separatists cannot deny, which yet they make the greatest matter in a Ministers call.

Thirdly, I answer, If this argument be of any force, it would rather prevaile against the first *Reformers*, as in other Nations, so against our first *Reformers* in *England*, who came newly out of Popery; but what is this to us, who have beene above ninety yeares out of that bondage, and have cast off their Government, Worship, and Doctrine (so farre as Antichristian) for a long time; but if our first *Reformers* were able enough to maintaine their call, then much more our Ministers.

Fourthly, but if you will throw away all that comes through *Rome*, let us see what course you will take, when you have denied all the Ordinances, that have beene administered for these ninety yeares in *England* [for if no Ministry, then certainly no Authoritative preaching, no Sacraments] and thus you have renounced your Baptisme, which you had by these Ministers; what method will you take in your Reformation? how will you come to be re-baptized? you will tell me, *You will covenant together, and then elect and ordaine a Minister, and he shall baptize:* Of this more afterward.

But let me examine what you say at present; *You will covenant together* (supposing your selves to be Saints first) say you so? are you Saints by calling? how came you to be so? what did God call you immediately? No, you must say many (if not all) of you, who have any truth of grace, by the preaching of the word; what, by those Ministers from whom you separate, as no Ministers, because of their Ordination? hath the Lord so farre owned

owned his despised members, as to make them the instruments to bring you to be visible Saints, fit to imbody or covenant, &c? and are these now no Ministers? are you the effect of their Ministeriall labours, and they no Ministers? Surely in this one thing you have overthrowne yourselves; but then you say, *you will ordaine him*, this I will consider in its owne place; Then *he shall baptize*: but since he did renounce his owne baptism also, who shall baptize him first? you must have a Minister to do that, to be sure he cannot doe it himselfe, nor none of you, for you are private persons; to administer the Lords Supper before you be baptised, is contrary to Scripture rules.

There was a report when I was in *New England*, that a Carpenter re-baptised Mr. *Williams*, and then he did re-baptize the rest: I do not stand to defend the thing whether it be true or no, but it was like enough to be true, and sutable to the other opinions and practises of that wilde generation. Where are we now?

Fifthly, that is very observable, which the *London Ministers* have added in the defence of their Ordination, "That in this Church of *England*, the corruptions which the Church of *Rome* would have introduced about Ordination of Ministers and other Ecclesiasticall affaires, were withstood and opposed by the Kings of *England*: Nor doe we read of any Ministers that were ordained by any Agents sent from *Rome*, but onely some idle ceremonies of Confirmation, or them that were ordained by the *Pall* and the *Ring* brought thence into *England*. Thus far the *London Ministers*: In the margent they have set downe the Authours that prove it.

Sixtly, There might be another answer given by some, who are good *Historians*, [which I confesse I am not, wanting both time and such bookes] so farre as I can goe, I will. That the Churches in *England* were at first rightly gathered and constituted, it is not to be doubted, the instruments of gathering being Apostles or Apostolicall men, as is evident by Mr. *Fox*; neither is it to be doubted, but they did ordaine officers in the Churches, for we read of Ministers and Bishops. The land falling to the possession of the Saxons about the yeare 568. the Story saith by them, all the Clergy and the Christian Ministers of the Britains were then utterly driven out, in so much that the Arch-bishops of *London* and *Torke* went into *Wales*: thus

In *Iust.*
Mar. time
none re-
ceived the
Supper,
but such
as were
first bapti-
sed, *Apol.*
Ius Divi.
Apend.
p. 269.

Mar. 7.
Vol. p. 237
last Edi-
tion.

p. 147.

P. 149.

P. 153.

long then it seemes the Ministers of England had no ordination from Rome; this appeares also by *Austine*, who came into England in the yeare five hundred ninety eight, he about the yeare six hundred, assembled the Bishops and Doctors of *Britaine* (so that still here were Ministers, but where their abode was, the story sets not downe, but supposed to be towards *Wales*,) and charged them to preach the Gospel to the *English-men*, and also that they should among themselves reform certain rites in their Church (so that still here were Ministers and Churches) specially for keeping of Easter-tide, baptizing after the manner of *Rome*, &c. to which the *Scots* and *Britaines* would not agree (this shews they did not depend upon *Rome*.) Afterward there was another Synod gathered, where seven Bishops of *Britaine* were present; and though we finde a great battell fought presently after, where the *Britains* were overcome, yet the Story doth not mention that the Ministers were all slaine there. Now the thing I aime at is this, that since there were so many Ministers and Bishops in England, who had their ordination by succession from those Apostolical men, and not from *Rome*, and wee finde so many, when *Austine* came, why may we not suppose that these might againe preach the Gospel to the *English-men*, though at first they were opposite, when they had smarted for their folly? and why may we not suppose they might returne into England againe, especially into those parts neare *Wales*? also those who were driven out, as the Story saith they were, suppose into some other parts, might not they returne into England? also must we take the words of the Story, (*All the Clergy and Christian Ministers were driven out*) strictly so, as none at all were left, though latent, &c? those, who are good Historians, may helpe here, and it would be some answer to that objection of our ordination coming from *Rome*, though unto me, the objection is very feeble, if this answer cannot be made out.

As for the Churches of England, being rightly at first gathered, as above mentioned; Mr. Cotton yeelds it, so as he saith, That all the work now is, not to make them Churches, which were none before, but to reduce, and restore them to their primitive Institution, &c.

To that part of the Objection, They were ordained by Bishops; I pray what doe you thinke of Master *Bradford*, and the rest of those

Way of
Ch. in N.
E. Ch. 7.
p. 111.

those holy Ministers and Martyrs that were ordained by the Bishops in those dayes, *Cranmer, Ridley, Hooper, &c?* was he an *Anti-christian Minister*, and all those Ministers, who were then ordained, though now they were scarce got out of the Popish Ceremonies? &c. the holy Martyrs then did never offer to separate from Mr. *Bradford*, and the rest, nor call them *Anti-christian Ministers*. I pray how many such *Bradfords* have you among you? Not all the Separatists in *England* can afford such a one; Christ calls him his faithfull Minister, but you say Mr. *Bradford* is none; cursed be that doctrine. Now if those Ministers were true Ministers, though they had an Episcopall Ordination, then so are ours, notwithstanding their Ordination by Bishops. It is vaine to say those Bishops were godly men, so were not ours: for it is a bold assertion to say, that none of the Bishops since have been godly men, no doubt there are divers in Heaven. And besides, it is absurd to thinke, that the truth and efficacy of an Ordinance depends upon the truth of Grace in him who doth administer it; as for Ceremonies, if you search, they were not cleare then, no more then our Bishops were.

It is a silly shift to say, They walked according to their light; I hope there was the same rule to judge of the truth of Ministers then, that is now; it was not their *light* which made them true Ministers, but the *rule*. But the truth of their Ministry was never questioned, till our Separatists rose up, who are not comparable to them in parts, or holinesse.

2 I pray, what doe you make of those Ministers who were ordained in the Primitive Churches? they were ordained in *Cyprian's* time by Bishops, and Presbyters; and by *Hieroms* time Cyp. Epist. 33. the Bishops had ingrossed that power into their owne hands, as appeares by that speech of his, *Excepting Ordination, what doth a* Epist. ad. Evagr. *Bishop that a Presbyter doth not?* so that by this time it should seeme that the Presbyters were turned out, and the Bishops only Ordained. It is possible this might be but in some Churches, for the fourth councill of *Carthage* ordered, That no Bishop should Ordaine without the councill of his Clergy, *Can. 22.* *Can. 3.* Now, what were these no Ministers? *Anti-christ* was not yet got into his Seat, for the yeares of his reigne had been expired before this time. It is strange, that those should be no true Ministers, who lived so neare the Apostles times, and under

persecution also, as in *Cyprians* time; neither was *Cyprian* surely the first Bishop that did *Ordaine*, for there were Bishops before him; yea, besides this *Ordination* by Bishops, we finde the *Papists* contending strongly for strange Rites, which they use in *Ordination*, and they say they were also used in those Primitive times: for the anointing of the hands of the *Presbyter* that is ordained, this they would prove from *Cyprian*, or at least the Author of *The Card. worke of Ch.* who should seeme to be as old as *Cyprian*; also from *Eusebius Hist. Eccles. l. 10. c. 4.* which place would seeme to favour it; and others there are, whom they quote. See *Greg. De Val. to 4. d. 9. q. 5.* Also for the shaving of the heads of their Ministers, this we finde indeed in *August.* time, Ep. 26. & Ep. 147. And this *Calvin* himselfe doth not deny to have been used then, and gives the reason why it was used; which *Greg. de Val.* scornes, and gives other reasons, *To. 4. D. 9. q. 5. p. 3.* If the *Decret. Epistles of Anicetus* be of any Authority, we shal finde it in his days, long before *Augustin*; and I wonder that *Greg. Val.* doth not quote him. I am apt to think, being they were so prone to Ceremonies in other Ordinances, that something was added to this also; and I marvel that in the fourth Councell of *Carthage*, where they set down their rites in Ordinations of other officers, and some very ridiculous, that the ordination of *Presbyters* should be the most pure; but still with Bishops as well as *Presbyters*, which is the thing now in hand.

3 A Bishop, if you consider him meerly as a Bishop, was but a Minister, and set apart to doe the worke of a Minister, the same, which all other Ministers may doe; Bishops did *Pray*, *Preach*, *Baptize*, administer the *Lords Supper*, *Ordaine*, *Suspend*, *Excommunicate*, and these things other Ministers doe, and may doe; that he did lift up himselfe above other Ministers, that was his error, that he would take upon him the sole power of *Ordination*, and *Excommunication*, this was his error; but as the addition of an human invention did not null the Ordinances, (as suppose only growne persons had been baptized, and that by dipping, and after dipping they had been signed with the signe of the *Crosse*, would this have nulled the Ordinance in the *Anabaptists* esteeme?) no more this usurpation of the power of administering these Ordinances did null a Bishop, so as he was no Minister; the Ordinances were, and are *Christs institutions*. Iadecd you may call him, an *Over-growne Presbyter*, but

Iust. l. 4.
c. 19 Sect
27.

but a *Presbyter*. *Diotrophes* loving of pre-eminence did justly deserve reproofe, and *John* did no doubt deale with him, but yet for present did not deny him to be a Minister, though a corrupt one; for the sole power of Ordination, they tell us, *It is the order of the Church of England, as of the Councell of Carthage, that when a Presbyter is Ordained, all the Presbyters that are present shall lay hands.* As for the sole power of Excommunication, though it was an error grosse enough, yet by the 17. Canon, *Coneil. Sardic.* it should seeme the Bishops by that time had got that power to excommunicate alone; which Canon provides a remedy for a person wrongfully excommunicated by his Bishop, to get releefe by Appeals; now if that corruption had got in so early, long before Anti-christ had got to his Seat, no wonder though it was found among our Bishops, yet I hope they were true Ministers whom they Ordained. As a Bishop was a Lord Bishop, his *Lordship* was but a meere civill addition annexed to the Bishoprick by Regall favour, his *Lordship* was no ingredient into Ordination.

4 The Lawes of this Realme doe account nothing Divine in a Bishop, but his being a Presbyter, and therefore the Parliament in their Ordinance for Ordination, tels us, that they did ordaine as Presbyters, not as Bishops, much lesse as Lord Bishops; yea, I have heard a reverend Minister (now Pastor of a Congregationall Church in Essex) say, that when the Bishop ordained him, he told him, *I doe ordaine you as I am a Presbyter.*

5 The Ministers of England are ready to acknowledge those defects, and corruptions which did cleave to their entring into the Ministry by the Bishops; heare their owne words, *We doe not deny, but that the way of Ministers entring into the Ministry by the Bishops, had many defects in it for which they ought to be humbled; but we adde, that notwithstanding all the accidentall corruptions, yet it is not substantially, and essentially corrupted.* They acknowledge then the error, and desire to be humbled for it: what more would you have, God will accept of this I doubt not, and why not you? How to mend Dr. *Seamans* Divinity I know not, where you have also the error acknowledged implicitly (for it is in answer to this Objection) then giving his judgement in the case: *When sinne cleaves to the manner of Calling, through the generall error or corruption of all sorts of people who are concerned in it, &c. it is not otherwise to be invalidated here below, then by doctrinall Censure, and Repentance.*

3 Ep. 1ch
ver. 10.

Ofius who
was the
cause of
that Ca-
non being
made, was
also at the
Council
of Nice.

London.
vind. 125.
Dr. Seam.
anfw. to
Diat. p. 85.

London
Vindica.
p. 124.

Answer to
Diat. p. 85.

penitance, and not by iteration. Repentance through Christs Blood doth take away corruption out of Gods sight, and will it not (when they are so ingenuous) out of your sight ?

Many may truly beare the name, yea they owne it, and praise accordingly. 6 There is a maxime taken up among the Independents, (yea and others) and it goeth for as good Divinity as any the Gospel hath, viz. *That errors in Non-fundamentals must be borne withall in Churches, we must labour indeed to convince people of such, but if they will not be so convinced, we must not proceed any further to cast them out.* I have heard the New England Ministers sharply censured, because they have excommunicated for some errors, (i. e. denying of some Ordinances) which are supposed to fall within the compasse of Non-fundamentals ; This maxime is cryed up among the Separatists. For the Thesis it selfe (considering into what a narrow compasse *Fundamentals* are pent up) I thinke it to be *Apocryphall Divinity*, and just it is with God to let in errors in Fundamentals, when such Church, and Truth-destructive Principles are drunke in by godly Christians ; yet let us bring this rule, and lay it to the case in hand : I hope they doe not make rules for themselves, if it be a true Christian Rule, it is for all Christians ; Here then we have men qualified by God with Ministeriall, and (abundance of them) personal gifts, they have the election or consent of the people, they are separated to the worke of the Ministry by persons, who were Ministers, but did erroneously assume too much to themselves, now grant that here is an error, yet I hope it is not in a fundamentall point. Some great Divines call Ordination but an Adjunct, and your selves lesse, you thinke it a Toy : so then if you must not be separated from a Church for errors in Non-fundamentals, then neither ought you to separate from a true Church for an error, which is not fundamentall. Certainly if that rule hath place any where, then here : you will by this rule keepe Anabaptists, Anti-Sabbatarians, Antinomians, (truly such) Anti-Psalrists, Arminians, &c. within your Churches, and not cast them out ; but (forsooth) a little error (in comparison of them) and that acknowledged, in the Ministers, that is ground sufficient to cast off them, and call them Anti-christians, &c. yet there are no conscientious men but these ; the Separatists Gospel will afford Rules for them, but not for other Christians.

As you trouble the Ministers here, so I doubt they will trouble

trouble you in the Ordinations of your Ministers; that is, to make it cleare to them, that *private* men have power to Ordaine: I have seene it my selfe, when two private men have imposed their hands upon him, who was to be their Pastor. Another I know, whom a Carpenter and a Taylor Ordained, with imposition of hands; I doubt the Ministers will put you hard to it, to prove that this is according to the Rule, (yea, when other Ministers [but of other Churches] were present, these have imposed hands.) If we consult with the Gospel, we shall finde it rather to favour a Bishop (though no Lordly one) by the example of *Timothy* and *Titus*, (from whom our Bishops proved their Superiority, and sole power of Ordination) to Ordaine, then private men, and that in the presence of divers other Ministers. I am sure this will be hard to prove from Scripture, I shall speake a few words to this point afterward. Suppose any of the Bishops had been of that opinion, that none but persons growne, and making confession of their Faith ought to be Baptized, and they would Baptize only by dipping, would not the Anabaptists have judged this to be true Baptisme? would they null this Baptisme, because he was a Bishop, since he was a Minister, set apart to that worke? &c. as *Austin* baptized many thus, after he had been in *England* a while, who yet was an *Arch-Bishop*, was that no true Baptisme? I doe not thinke that the Anabaptists (if they have any braines in their heads) will deny that Baptisme were nul; if that were good, so is Ordination for the substance of it. If there have been no true *Ministers*, nor *Ordinances*, nor *Churches*, but where there hath been no humane mixtures, nor wicked persons, then there hath been but few *Ministers*, *Ordinances*, or *Churches*, since there was a Church upon earth, and if there ought to be separation from such Ministers and Churches, then we should have found Separatists enough; how hardly was Superstition kept out in the Church of the *Jewes* before the Captivity, say, how many yeares? After-^{Alte.}ward, when Christ came, were they cleare? what thinke you Chron. p. then of corrupt *Caiphas* the High Priest, his corrupt entring into, ^{2153.}and his continuance in the place for one yeare? So the Phari-^{Goodw.}sees, a Generation that God never instituted, their Schoole ^{Mo. Ar.} ^{l. 1. c. 10.}
Chemnitius in 10. Ioh. takes theeves there to be the Pharisees, for their order was not instituted by God, nor brought in by the Prophets, but only a humane invention, and through their owne boldnesse.

began, some say, two hundred and forty yeares, some say more, before Christ, and for their Superstitious inventions they were not barren in them: but did Christ, so soon as he came to Preach call away the people, and bid them separate? here are corrupt Officers, &c. No, we finde no such word; nay, he bids them heare, *Matth. 23.* After Christ, I pray tell me, how long did the Churches continue without Superstitious mixtures, I doubt you will finde the Church hath not been long free, but we doe not finde separation presently, and nulling of Ministers, as now, Men should doe well to give us a precept, or example out of the Word, where Ordinances have been dispensed true for the substance, though some humane mixtures have been joyned to them, that therefore they were iterated. If they cannot give us a direct precept or example, shew us it by a necessary consequence from Scripture. I wonder men should be so forward to iterate Baptisme, and Ordination, as these Separatists call for, without Scripturall grounds.

9 There are hundreds of Ministers in *England*, who were not Ordained by Bishops, but you separate from those also; they had the election of the people first, then with fasting and prayer, solemnly set apart to the worke by divers godly and learned Divines, who were against Bishops, yet these are also scorned by your selves, as much as the others; but (forsooth) because they were Ordained by Bishops, and had not renounced their Ordination, and taken their Ordination from you, therefore that infection spreads even to all Generations. Out of what I have said, I may pick up some answers to this, but for troubling the Reader; and the truth is, they are in some sence unreasonable men I deale with; but this let me say, it is strange, that when an Ordinance is purged in it selfe, and those who administer it, renounce what defects have cleaved to their owne Ordination, only for the substance owning it (as another Ordinance may be corrupted, or rather have corruptions annexed to it, but not nulled by those accidentall corruptions) that this infection should adhere so strongly, that it cannot be mended, but by nulling of it. Friends, this cavilling will not doe in the Day of Judgement. Besides, I pray give me an instance where it was ever practised, that persons, that were not Baptised, did Ordaine a Minister? If you aske me, What need that question, for we are Baptised, therefore it doth not concerne us? By whom I pray?

pray? If you say, by the Ministers, then I desire no more; if they were so farre Ministers as to administer Baptisme to you, then they may well administer Ordination to us; renounce therefore the Baptisme you had by them, so I am sure you cannot ordaine; and when you are regularly re-baptised, and can warrant your Act, and prove that you have the power to Ordaine, then we will listen to you.

For my owne Ordination, it was in the face of my people, the day was spent in fasting, and Prayer, those who carried on the worke were Mr. Dan. Rogers, Mr. Marshall, Mr. Ranew, with other godly Ministers, who joyned with them in the imposing of hands (the Ministers lived about me) I never saw that Ordinance carried on with more solemnity in my life, the people shewed their election by suffrage, holding up their hands; all was done according to the Pattern; but yet I am a man as much scorned as other men, who were Ordained by Bishops. (I can submit to God in that scorne that these cast upon me, for I deserve it at his hands;) only there was a foule error committed at my Ordination, and it is told up and downe by some of this kinde, against whom I write, and I pray what is it? This, *The Ministers imposed hands in my Ordination*; this hath been talked of as a strange thing; but let me answer for the Ministers, it was no error, much lesse such a great one as you make it.

1 If private men, Carpenters and Taylors may impose hands, why may not Ministers? but the former have done it. *Ergo*:

2 All the Ordinations that ever I saw in *New England* were performed with imposition of hands; I have seene Deacons ordained thus.

3 If you be wiser then the Elders in *New England*, and Master *Hooker*, then over-throw them, for they conceive it nearest to the institution. Answ. to the 32. que. p. 67.

4 If you observe the examples in the New Testament, which are our Guides in Church affaires, we shall finde Ordinations have been thus performed; as *Acts* 6. 6. *Acts* 13. 3. *1 Tim.* 4. 14. *1 Tim.* 5. 22. *Heb.* 6. 2. *Laying on of hands*; Which place, by Classicall men, Congregationall men, and Separatists, is interpreted of Ordination. I doe not here bring in the practise of Churches in former times, because I intend not to handle the controversie, *Whether imposition of hands be necessarily required in ordination?* Survey of Church Disc. p. 2. p. 74.

nation? but bring you in as many examples from Scripture, where there were Ministers Ordained without imposition of hands; as also the practise of other true Churches Orthodox and sound, who doe Ordaine without, &c. or else be ashamed of your ignorance, and charge not those men with error where none was, but a true following the patterne.

The substance and essence then of Ordination being this, *That persons qualified Ministerially be set apart, or separated for the worke of the Ministry by persons in Office* [ordinarily it must be thus, what may be done extraordinarily, when no Officers can be had is another case] the Ministers in *England* have that Ordinance for the substance, and they have the election and consent of the people, (it is hardly to be supposed that every individuall person in a Parish will consent to every godly Minister, but consent there is) hence these two concurring to the *Call*, which is the forme of a Minister, many *Presbyteriall* Ministers are true Ministers. I dare say more, but I am sure now I save my selfe. But I have not done with Ordination yet, I shall meet with it once againe afterwards. Let us now come and try the second ground for separation, *scil. The Worship of God*; the fault here must be reduced to one of these three heads; either;

1 Because they cannot enjoy all the Ordinances of God in these Churches. Or,

2 Because the Ordinances of God are mixed with humane inventions, that they cannot partake of them without sinne. Or,

3 Because here are other Ordinances set up in the Churches then ever Christ did institute. I cannot conceive any more.

For the first; Suppose it were so, that there were a defect of some Ordinances, is that a sufficient ground for separation? Mr. *Hooker* saith no. If a Father of a Family wants a Rod in his house, is it *ergo* no family? there may be some disorder in the house for want of good Government, yet a family. Divers Divines of great note conceive by that text, *Nehem. 8. 17, 18.* That the Church of the *Jewes* did omit the celebration of the Feast of Tabernacles almost the space of a thousand yeares, the Arke was absent from the Tabernacle from the time of *Eli*, to the time of *David*, 1 *Sam. 4. 11.* compared with, 2 *Sam. 6. 17.* and it was a great fault; the Scribes rejected the Baptisme of *John*, but

but where doe you finde any separation all this while, that the godly should not joyne with that Church, and partake in what Ordinances they had? But this objection hath no place in these Churches, for *Prayer, Preaching, Administration* of the *Sacraments*, yea, *Discipline* they had in the *Episcopall* dayes, they did suspend from the Lords Supper, and the Bishops gave the Ministers power, but suspension is the *lesser Excommunication*, and now to be sure there are none wanting (at least should not be,) if the Ministers were not hindred in setting up all the Ordinances.

Obj. No, say you, the *Classicall* Churches have no explicate Covenant for the forme of them, they will not admit it into their Churches, therefore we separate.

I shal meet with this in another place, only for the present disprove what Mr. *Hooker* hath said, and the former examples I have given you; but yet you will have a hard peece of work, to prove this to be a sufficient ground for your separation, as afterwards I hope I shall make good.

For the second, *Humane mixtures in Ordinances.*

This indeed was the ground of the old Separatists; yet in those dayes many holy and learned Divines wrote against the Separation; but in these dayes that stumbling block is removed; and this let me say, that if you read over all the Church-histories, since there was a Church upon the earth, there cannot be found any example of such separatists, as are now amongst us; the old *Donatists* had their Ministers, yea, *Bishops* as well as *Presbyters*; the separate Churches of later dayes had their Ministers, and how strictly did they maintaine and practise all those Ordinances, which ours laugh at, as *singing of Psalmes, Infant-Baptism*, observation of the *Sabbath*, and such opinions as those learned and godly men, Mr. *Ainsworth, Robinson, Johnson*, did abhorre, are swallowed downe among ours; so that these men cannot ground their practice from any example heretofore; and as for the *Scripture*, if they can finde any grounds there, I must confesse I am altogether ignorant in the *Scripture*.

Suppose there should be some human mixtures (though for my part I know of none) are all the Ordinances so polluted: preaching and prayer were kept pure in the *Episcopall* dayes; why doe you not communicate with them in those Ordinances, which are pure?

If you object, *The Ordinances indeed are pure*, but those who joyne in these Ordinances are not pure, therefore we separate.

This properly belongs to the third head (the Congregation) I shall there answer to this Cavill.

Thirdly, for the setting up such Ordinances as Christ never did, I cannot imagine where you will be, unlesse you meane *Infant-baptisme*, and *singing of Psalmes*, for I finde these are spoken against very much. But are these fundamental errors, if they bee errorrs, have you beene forced to baptise your Infants, or sing Psalmes? are you not at your choice whether you will or not? do not many people sit in Congregations, and not sing at all? not but that I conceive Church-members ought to be regarded in this, and called to an account, though they had need be handled tenderly, if otherwise they seeme to be godly, yet their being hopefully godly, is not a sufficient ground to keep them from Church-censures, unlesse all circumstances being considered they appeare to be truly conscientious, men of humble spirits, not selfe-willed, and desiring forbearance and patience in clearing of the point, then I know Ministers would beare with such a long time; but to have persons runne into these errorrs, and let alone, as if they were things of no concernment; truly by what rules you will loose two Ordinances, you may loose foure; Officiall preaching is cryed downe, and Church Discipline also, by the *Erastians*, no outward forme of Government, which I suppose was the scope of Mr. *Dells* Sermon before the *Parliament*; and so I thinke it is that which *Rob. Purnell* in his short Prophecie of the down-fall of *Presbytery* and *Independency* aimes at, that there should be no externall forme of Church-Government, but only the government of the spirit within; and for all Ordinances, some are above them, who have been Members of Congregationall Churches, inso-much that when the Brethren came to chuse an Officer, a *Mason* rose up and opposed it, professing he lived immediatly upon Christ, and he owned none; neither was he alone I beleeve: but if you take away all the Ordinances, how we shall know there is a God in the world, I know not; to be sure, we shall not know by the dealings of these men: I know so much by them, that one had as good deale with the *Indians* as with some of them, so that in conclusion we shall have brave Churches without ordinances.

As for Infant-baptisme, this is not a place for me to prove it to be an Ordinance of God; what the Adversaries can say is summed up in Mr. *Tombes*, a man, I heare, esteemed truly godly on all hands, and for his Learning he shewes himselfe to be a Schollar, it is pittie the mans parts were defiled in maintaining such a *wretched opinion*, as Mr. *Hooker* calls it. I confesse, Master *Tombes's* abilities are such, that I may hold the Candle to him, but yet let me say this, I can easily discern Mr. *Tombes* to dispute more like a *Sophister*, then a *Christian*, that did desire to see truth. Mr. *Marshall* tells him, and not without cause, *Your sa-* In his de-
culty is farre better in darkening, slurring, and plundering the Argu- fence, &c.
ments of your Adversarie, then in making good your owne. It is the P. 247.
 happinesse Mr. *Marshall* hath above many, that in his preaching, and so in printing, he can convey his minde to his Hearer, or Reader so, as the weakest may understand; how then his Arguments come to be so darke, to so learned a man, as Mr. *Tombes*, I cannot conceive, if he had dealt candidly; but when Master *Tombes* hath answered Mr. *Marshall*, *Cotton*, *Baxter*, *Cobbet*, *Hooker*, *Holmes*, *Geree*, &c. then we shall bethinke our selves of new Arguments, but these Worthies have maintained that Ordinance with that strength, that I beleve the contrary opinion will rarely, or never take with an intelligent head, and a sober, godly heart.

For *singing of Psalmes*, this is not a place neither to follow that Question: whether it be an Ordinance of God, I never heard of any that writ against it, except one, whom Mr. *Cotton* hath answered, and I thinke sufficiently enough. When Master *Cotton* is silenced, then we shall bethinke our selves concerning that Ordinance: I heare of others that have printed for it, but Master *Cottons* peece is all I have seene concerning that subject,
Pro or con.

Only because there was a *Sectary*, that in a Shop scoffingly ^{In Colchester.} asked me, To what purpose singing of Psalmes was? the mans spirit I saw very unfavoury, and the place not convenient to discourse; I gave him no answer, but shall now give him the grounds that lead me to beleve it is an Ordinance of Christ, and let him confute them. I cannot avoyd it, but I must touch divers things that have been touched before, but what I doe, shall be very brieve.

1. If singing of Psalmes were an Ordinance under the Old Testa-

Testament, and not repealed in the New Testament [being not Typicall, or Ceremoniall, &c.] then it is also an Ordinance under the New Testament.

But the Antecedent is true, *ergo* the Consequent is true.

For the Antecedent, that it was an ordinance then, the Adversaries deny not, and as other ordinances, which then were in use, and not repealed (as Prayer, Preaching, &c.) are ordinances now under the New Testament, why should not singing of Psalmes also be continued an ordinance still?

They object, *Singing of Psalmes with the voyce, is but a type of singing Psalmes with the heart.*

I answer; If indeed it were *typicall*, then it were some ground to beleeve it was repealed; we read your Dictates, but we read no proofes, give us your texts to prove it was *typicall*, else your Dictates will not take with us; That which makes me strongly to beleeve the contrary is this, That *Paul*, and *Silas*, when none but they were in the Prison, yet they sang, *Act. 16. 25.* now this was ill done of them, if it were *Typicall*, yet to keep it in practise, when they were alone, however in other points and Ceremonies the Apostles did condescend as farre as they could to the *Jewes*, giving the Ceremonies (being now dead) as *Augustine* saith, an honourable buriall, yet that *Paul* and *Silas* being now alone without *Jewes*, having no such temptation, but may keep their liberty, should practise a *Typicall* ordinance, beleeve it who will, for I cannot. When I had framed my answer, looking into Mr. *Cotton*, I perceived that he mentions this of their singing in answer to this Cavill, and giveth more answers, whither I referre the Reader.

Epiā. 19.

P. 24.

2 The second ground that moves me is the expresse Scripture, *Ephes. 5. 19. & Col. 3. 16.* speaking one to another in Psalmes, *ἑαυτοῖς* i.e. *ἀλλήλοις* saith *Beza*, as the word is used, *Ephes. 4. ult. χαρίζεσθαι ἑαυτοῖς* forgiving one another; so in *Col. 3. ἡδυνώμενος ἑαυτὸν* our Translation there renders it, *one another*: *Loquentes inter vos multum*, *Beza*, so *Piscator*, so *Zanchy*: When drunkards are full of wine, then they begin to sing their Songs, saith he; so Christians filled with this wine, have these Spirituall Songs, Psalmes, &c. to sing; for the difference between these, see our *English Annotations*, or *Hiere. in Loc.*

Severall Objections are here made, which I shall not study to answer, only in a word.

1 They

1 They say, *The text doth not say, sing one to another, but speake one to another*; the *Psalmes dwelling in their hearts*, they were to dispense them in way of teaching; but as for singing, he maketh no mention of that untill he came to teach them, the manner of dispensing the Word of Christ [a darke expreſſion] unto God in the end of the verse, and that is making melody in the heart.

Maſter Cotton answers with a grave reproofe; That men should rather bow their judgements and practises to Scripture Language, then bow the ſence of the Scripture to their owne conceptions againſt the Language of the Scripture; for ſaith he, it is one thing to ſpeake one to another in *Psalmes*, and *Hymnes*, and *ſpirituell Songs*, as is done in ſinging, and another thing to teach one another out of *Psalmes*, &c. It is true, they were to teach one another out of the *Psalmes*, and the ſcope of *Paul* will reach that; but if he had meant only ſo, he would not have ſaid, *Speake yee one to another, In Psalmes*, but *Out of the Psalmes*, as is the Scripture phraſe, &c.

2 To me it ſeemeth ſtrange, if that were all *Pauls* meaning, why ſhould *Paul* mention only thoſe parts of the Word which uſe to be ſung? Why doth he not mention the *Prophets*, *Iſaiab*, &c. as alſo the New Teſtament, to teach one another out of them? Are there not as excellent Truths, gracious Promiſes, to be found in thoſe *Prophets*, and worthy for Chriſtians to be inſtructed in, as in the *Psalmes*, or other Songs that we finde of *Moses*, *Deborah*, &c? but for *Iſaiab*, *Jeremiab*, and all thoſe *Prophets*, beſides other parts of the Old and New Teſtament, they were never wont to be ſung in the Church, but only theſe which *Paul* mentions in both places, not adding any portion of Scripture more in the *Epift. to the Colossians*, then to the *Ephesians*, therefore I cannot beleieve that ſhould be the meaning, as the *Objector* ſaith.

3 The Apoſtle mentions ſinging we ſee preſently, now if any thing can be made out of what the *Objector* ſaith, it may poſſibly be this; That *Paul* would have them teach one another the ſence and ſcope of a *Psalm*, that all may underſtand the meaning of the *Psalm* they ſing [as is the praſtiſe of ſome Miniſters, if they be to ſing a *Psalm* that is more darke, then in a few words they give the people to underſtand the meaning of the *Psalm* they ſing] and ſo ſing with underſtanding, 1 Cor. 14, 15. I ſay, Why may not this be ſomething of the meaning? I leave

it to more able heads to judge. But this doth not exclude singing

But whereas he conceives *singing* should be only the making melody in the heart, I pray let him heare what an old Commentator said long agoe, upon the words; *We read no where that any one sung without a voyce, wherefore it is necessary that in the Heart here, be understood from the Heart. viz. That we sing not only with the mouth, but with the heart.* So Beza, In your heart, i. e. *Serio cordis affectu, non autem lingua duntaxat, neque enim in corde idem hic declarat atque intus & apud se, cum mentio fiat canendi in catu.* So other Divines, as Calvin, Zanchy, &c. whom I forbear to name.

Hieron.
in Colos. 3.
Nusquam
legimus
aliquem
sine voce
cantasse,
unde necesse
est hic, in
corde, ex
corde, in-
telligi, &c.

The same text also affords a good ground for singing *Dauids* Psalmes, with other spirituall Songs recorded in Scripture; or else I desire them to give me a reason, why *Paul* should direct us to the very Titles of *Dauids* Psalmes, and yet not meane *Dauids* Psalmes, any one that hath the least taste of the Hebrew Language knowes this. Some of them are called מְזִמֹּרִים *Psalmes*, the word מְזִמֹּר is used about forty times in *Dauids* Psalmes, I doe not stand upon the exact number. תְּהִלִּים *Hymnes*, the Book of *Dauids* Psalmes is named by this word סֵפֶר תְּהִלִּים so שִׁירִים *Spirituall Songs*, this is frequent in *Dauids* Psalmes; also *Deborah* useth this word, *Judg.* 5. 12. so now it seemes strange that *Paul* should point us to these, and yet we must not sing them, which were sung before.

See Bax'o.
Concord.
Exod. 15.

The third ground that moves me, is the example I finde in the New Testament, of *Christ* himselfe, with his Apostles, *Matth.* 26. 30. they sung a Hymne; he did not sing it between the Pascheover and the institution of the Supper, as being a Typicall thing, and so let it be joyned to the Pascheover, as the *Jewes* did; but after he had instituted that Ordinance, which must last to the end of the world, and they received the Bread and Wine, then he and they sung, as some conceive six Psalmes, beginning at 112. to 117. whence it is the practise of Churches, following the patterne, to sing after the receiving of the Supper.

Beza in
Loc.

So the example of *Paul* and *Silas*, *Act.* 16. 25. ᾠδὴν ᾗδεόντων *Hymnos canebant Deo*, saith *Beza*, or *Hymnis laudabant Deum*, *Piscator*, and *Pasor*, they praised God with Hymnes; that which some object, the text saith, they sang praises, not Psalmes; this is very poore, besides the originall word, how should one sing praises to God but in some Psalmes, spirituall Song, &c. for Praise, if

you

you take it properly as distinct from honour and glory, is but the honourable making mention of another, and that externally by tongue or pen; also that text, *Heb. 13. 15.* by him therefore let us offer the sacrifice of praise to God continually, that is, the fruit of our lips, &c. intimates as much.

And this text over-throws that conceit of singing only in the heart, which one that was a member of the Church of Rowly in New England had taken up, and upon that ground, and some other notions he had, denied singing, and maintained (as well as he could) that singing of Psalmes was no Ordinance of God. I doe not know how this mans opinion came to be knowne, for had he kept his owne counsell, I suppose none should much have taken notice of him, which makes me thinke it was of his owne venting at first; our Elders laboured with him to convince him (the Elders of Ipswich, besides his owne Pastor) this text was alledged to prove singing with an Audible voyce, for they sang, and the Prisoners heard him: yet this man could not [or rather would not, for the thing is plaine as any one may understand] be convinced of the thing; the man after long labouring with him, but to no purpose, for he was tenacious in his owne opinion, and as Hieron. said of Jovinianus, *Non est contentus nostro, i. e. humano more loqui, alius quiddam aggreditur; Hic flowne in his notions.* The Elders seeing that obstinacy was joyned to his errour, they concluded, that either they must cast that Ordinance out of the Church, or else cast him out of the Church, and so the Church of Rowley did cast him out. I know they have been censured for this Act by some here, but at the Day of Judgement they will give as comfortable an account for maintaining of the Ordinances of Christ, as they shall doe, who through their maxime of errors in Non-fundamentalls, make way to loose all the Ordinances, and then where is the Church?

From this example of Paul and Silas we may argue, if two may sing Hymnes or Psalmes together, then foure may, so forty, the number hinders not, for the voyces here of many are no hinderance to the Ordinance, but rather they help to stirre up the affections one of another; as in those, who are filled with wine, two singing together, or foure, doe not hinder their conceited mirth. So Christ and his eleven Apostles sang together.

Whether will these men allow one Christian to sing a Psalm

alone by himselfe, methinks the texts and examples mentioned, together with *Jam. 5. 13.* *Is any man merry, let him sing Psalmes,* are so plaine, as no rationall man can deny it; But if one may, then the Church may. There is no act of Worship which any member of the Church is bound to performe, but the Church is bound to performe; but on the contrary it is not true, that what worship the Church doth performe, a member of Church can, or may; for instance for the first part, Meditation needs no Organ of the body, and therefore I leave that. But doth a Member of the Church Pray, so doth the whole Church: doth he read the Scriptures? so they are read in the Church; doth he fast and pray? so doth the Church; doth he sing a Psalm? so doth the Church; but it is not true on the contrary, as appeares in the Sacraments, Preaching, Discipline, &c. Neither is that place, *Revel. 15. 2, 3.* of small force, to prove singing to be an Ordinance, *Those who overcame the Beast, sung the Song of Moses;* This saith Mr. Burroughs I note, because hereby we may see that singing is an Ordinance in the Church of God, not only in the time of the Law, but in the time of the Gospel, &c. he was speaking of the text before.

Exposit.

Hof. 2. 15.

P. 525.

4 The fourth ground that moves me is this [I know not how it will take with others, but with me it is something.] *Psal 92.* The title saith, it is a Psalm, or Song for the day of Sabbath; it is cleare, that one way of sanctification of the Sabbath was by singing of Psalmes; two of the words that Paul uses in *Ephes. 5. 19.* are in this Title *מומור שיר* Psalmes, *Spiritual Songs;* will any say, this Psalm was only for those times, but now is abolished with the Jewish Sabbath? what, is that admirable promise, in the thirteenth, and fourteenth verses vanished, and of no use to us? Should not Christians apply it, and plead it now, when as they are planted in Gods house, and attending on him on our Christian Sabbath? have not we as much need of the Promise as they? this with me hath much prevailed; if we owne a Christian Sabbath, singing of Psalmes may well be owned also for an Ordinance of God now, as well as then.

5 The fifth is the presence of the Spirit of God with his people in the use of this Ordinance; for the prooffe of what I say, let thousands of Gods people speake, if they have not found God in the Ordinance; I will not goe so farre as *Augustin,*

gustin, but our Fathers, who used it in their families more then some of us doe, I am sure they found God, and so have many now in these dayes; those who have not found God in it, they may cavill indeed, but let them be rather humbled, that God hath not given them, what others have tasted; those who doe frequently finde God in this Ordinance, they will not so slightly, and scornfully speake of it, as that Sectary did to me; but if God had usually manifested his presence with his Churches under the Old and New Testament, in the using of this Ordinance, this with the former Scriptures alledged prevaile with me, to beleeve it is a Gospel ordinance still.

Confess. l. 9
c. 6. & l.
10. c. 33.

6 The last ground that moves me, is the practise of the Primitive Churches: Antiquity after Scripture is as a Cypher after a Figure, and doth increase the number; that singing was frequent among those Christians I finde it recorded.

1 *Eusebius* reporteth out of *Philo*, the Lives, manners, &c. of the religious men in *Aegypt*; *Marke* being sent into *Aegypt*, as *Ecclesi-hist.* lib. 2. c. 17
saith the story, to preach Christ, he there converted many, whose conversation (as I said) *Philo Judæus*, a very learned man at that time, sets forth in commendation of the Christians: *Hierom al.* so relates
among other things this he reporteth; *They contemplate not only Divine things, but they make grave Canticles, and Hymnes unto God, in this out of*
a more sacred rime of every kind of meeter and verse. This Philo (a Hebrew) flourished about the yeare forty, being sent of an Em- tioni vaca-
bassage to *Caius Caligula* about that time; so then this was their *Psalmis.*
practise in the Apostles times, *Philo* must needs be borne, and *Catal. script.*
well growne in Christs time. *Ecclesiast.*

2 For *Tertullian*, there are two Testimonies brought out of him Mine in
for singing of Psalmes, the one is out of *Apol. c. 2.* the Letter *Paris print.*
which *Plinius Secundus* wrote to *Trajan* in behalfe of the anno 1580.
Church, where he mentions the practise; the other is out of
Cap. 39. Apol. shewing the Discipline of the Christians, and
there it is mentioned; but I finde two other places in him be-
sides these as cleare as those; one is, *l. 2. ad uxorem*, having
spoken strongly against Christians marrying with Infidels, he
shewes the contrary, how good it is for Christians to marry
with Christians, and among other things this he mentions; *So-*
nant inter Duos Psalmi & Hymni, & mutuo provocant quis melius Dea
sua canet; but most cleare is that place, *Cap. 3. De Anima*, as for
his opinion *De effigie anime*, I leave that; but there he makes

mention of a Sister of their Church, who had the gifts of Revelations, which it seemes shee had in the Church on the Lords Day, *As the Scriptures are read, or Psalmes are sung,* he reckons up other Ordinances, Prayer, &c. then matter for visions were administred, &c. Now this is most cleare, it was in the Congregation, for when the people were gone (exercises being finished) then it seems she was wont to tell (the officers I suppose he means) what revelations she had, which they noted exactly. *Tertullian* then is so plaine and full for this practise, that none can doubt whether the Churches used this Ordinance or no.

Ecclef.
Hist. l. 6.
c. 8.

Socrates Scholast. speaking of the Hymns, which *Chrysost.* appointed his own people to sing in opposition to the *Arians*, in the end of the Chapter tells us that *Ignatius*, a man very familiar with the *Apostles*, saw a vision of Angels which extolled the blessed Trinity with Hymnes, that were sung interchangeably, and delivered unto the Church of *Antioch*, the order and manner of singing expressed in the vision; so he would make *Ignatius* the Author of *Anthemes*: I somewhat doubt whether that manner of singing was so ancient, but that singing was, I doubt not, then in practise.

Quest. &
Resp. Orth.
l. 107.

4. *Iust. Martyr* (or whosoever was the Authour of that booke) shews it was in use in that time, setting downe with all the benefit that comes by singing.

So that in the *Apostles* times, and the ages next to the *Apostles*, we finde singing was in use.

If we come a little lower to the year three hundred sixty four I finde in 15. Canon, *Concil. Laodic.* none were allowed to sing *præter Canonicos Psalmes*; here was a corruption got in by this time, crosse to the command of *Paul* in his Epistles to the *Ephes.* and *Coloss.* but this implies that singing had beene before in use in the Churches, and that the people were wont to sing, that now they limit singing to the *Canonicall Psalmists*.

That *Athanasius* used singing in his Church, appeares also in *August. Confess.* l. 10. c. 33. also that the *Psalmes of David* were sung then appeares in the same place, and in his 119. Epist. c. 18. where he affirms, that for singing of *Psalmes* and *Hymnes*, we have the examples and precepts of *Christ*, and the *Apostles*, blaming withall the *Donatists*, that learning *Dauids Psalmes*, they sung *Hymnes* of their owne inventing, &c.

As for those, who would allow singing, if it might be of some *spirituall* song composed by some *Saint* now upon some occasions, I doe not now trouble my selfe about them, onely I wish them to make better songs, then that *brother* of one of the Churches in *London* [I doe forbear to name whose Church it was] who composed a song to be sung on the day of *Thanksgiving* for the overthrow of the *Scots* at *Dunbar*; I heard the Song read over, and the party who read it, told me it was sung in the Church: I deny not but the man who composed it, might have an *honest* heart, but sure he had but a *shallow* head, in comparison of what men should have, that compose such Songs.

If these be not grounds sufficient to answer that *scoffer*, let him give me better grounds to prove *singing* of *Psalmes* is no Gospel Ordinance.

So much for the second branch, the *worship* can be no ground of separation. Now I come to the third.

Let us see if there be sufficient ground for separation in respect of the *Congregation*. The *Congregations* are very corrupt they say, hence they thinke they are bound to separate, and alleadge these places, 2 Cor. 6. 17. Revel. 18. 4.

1. That there are very many corrupt persons in the *Presbyteriall* *Congregations*; there are none deny it (and I wish the *Independent* Churches have not some corrupt persons also amongst them) you doe not heare them justifie all their Church-members, but you shall finde them complaining of this corruption, and endeavouring by degrees to correct it, yea, I believe, had they power in their hands, they would soone shew what they would doe: I pray heare some of their words, the *London Ministers*, Though we dare not make separation from a true Church, yet we doe make separation in a true Church. Read over the whole Answer, and you may perceive their mindes, before this in their exhortation to the Ministers and Elders, you have this one branch of their exhortation, That they would labour to make their *Congregations* pure as well as peaceable, following after piety, as much as after verity and unity, that all your people under your charge, may be visible *Saints* at least, you may feele how the pulses of these men beat. I observe also Mr. *Candry* differing very little from Mr. *Hooker*, in this point about visible *Saints*, being the materiall cause of a Church; where you may see what he would have, if *Discipline* were once stablished; that the *Congregations* are thus

Vindica.
P. 115.

P. 76.

Review of
Mr. Hoo. a
p. 89. ad
97.

See him
also p. 202

thus corrupt, the fault is not in them, but in the old *Hierarchy*, whose Errours while they goe about to mend, you goe away from them.

2. I am sure, very many Parochiall Congregations in *England*, have both visible and reall Saints: must these and the Ministry be cast off for the sake of other corrupt ones? whom they would gladly also mend, if they could, or else purge them out.

3. I wish you would give us precept or example, where there have been Churches with so many visible Saints, and such Ministers, and these Ministers desiring and labouring to reforme as they doe, and yet that Christians have done, or should separate from them. Those Texts above mentioned, and often alledged, if you please to view them well againe, are very far from proving it: Corrupt members there were enough in the Jewish Church, and so in the Christian Churches soone after, and in the Apostles times; but you have no example of separating from them, but in them, say the *London* Ministers, we doe separate,

4. But I pray wherein doe these wicked men trouble you? I hope you will give men leave to heare the word, be they never so wicked, but many of you come not so much as to heare.

Object. But they trouble us, because they mixe with us in prayer.

Answer. No mixtures ever troubled me in Ordinances, so much as my owne heart, if I could separate from that I should be happy.

The Gre-
cians be-
fore they
went to
kill the
sacrifice,
used to cry
out to the
people,
Εὐχαριστία
Let us pray,
Rous. Arch.
Att. l. 2. c. 9
They
prayed
also in the
Temple.
ib. c. 7.

But for Prayer, why would not you have them joyne in prayer? when as,

First, Prayer is a part of naturall worship, the light of nature dictates this to every man, if he owne a God, then pray unto him, *Jonah* 1. 6. *Call upon thy God, &c.* but I hope none in your Congregations, but owne even the true God, therefore they are bound to pray to him.

Secondly, Peter when he saw *Simon*, *Act. 8. 22.* in the very gall of bitternesse, yet bid him, *Pray God*: Then worst of men may pray.

Thirdly, Prayer God hath used to be a converting Ordinance; I have knowne one my selfe that now is in heaven, but was at first a notorious wretch, a mock-God, Captaine of Drunkards,

Drunkards, who coming into the Church, as the Minister was in prayer, God brake his heart, and followed it on so, as he became an eminent Saint.

Object. They mixe with us in our singing, mixed worship we cannot joyne in.

Ans. I cannot conceive what harm this can do to you; is the mixing of your owne corruption in your service lesse prejudiciall to the acceptance of it with God, then the presence of wicked men joyning in the service?

If indeed you can prove to me that God will not have wicked men sing, but if they doe, he will not accept of the service of his people, this is some ground for your exception; but I conceive you will not be able to prove the former, much lesse the latter.

That wicked men may sing, I prove thus:

First, If wicked men may pray unto God (as the light of nature teaches) then they may praise God; the light of nature teaches this also: nature teaches me to pray to God for what I want, and nature teaches me to praise God for what I receive. If then naturall men may praise God with their mouths [for praise must bee expressed with tongue or pen, if you take it properly, as I said before] why not by singing? God hath given this gift to them, as well as to others. But that to praise God is a part of naturall worship, and belongs to all men, we may conceive by the example of the Philistims, *Judg. 16. 23. They met to offer a great sacrifice to Dagon, and to rejoyce (because of Sampson.)* Here is a day of Thanksgiving; so *1 Chron. 10. 9.* because Saul was slaine, &c.

If we goe to the *Romans*, we shall finde nature had taught them to sing to their feigned gods, not to transcribe their rites in their sacrifices, *After the portion layed out for the gods had beene burnt, then did all the people repaire to a common feast; where, as they were eating, they sung hymnes and songs in the praise of their gods, and playing on Cymbals, they danced about the Altars, intimating thereby, that there was no part of their body, but should be employed in the service of their gods, &c.* If nature taught the *Romans* to sing hymnes and songs to their feigned and foolish gods, why should wicked men be debarred from singing to the true God?

2. We finde *Exod. 15. 1. Moses and the sonnes of Israel, sang a song to the Lord, in v. 12. Miriam bids the women sing; I doubt not but among these sonnes and daughters of Israel,*

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Rom. Ant.
1, 2. f. 2. c. 19

there were persons as corrupt as any in our Congregations: then the presence of wicked men doe not so defile you, or the Ordinance, as is supposed; to themselves indeed it was polluted, as are all other things, but this hindred not *Moses*, nor *Miriam*, they did not separate all those, who were godly, from the rest, and sing onely with them; I doubt they should have had but few songsters.

3. May a wicked man read a Psalm, or one of those songs? give me a reason why not? Will you debarre a wicked man from reading the word? If he may read a Psalm, why may not he sing the Psalm? To read the word is worship, so to sing the Psalm is worship: It is true, he cannot sing as he should, no more he cannot read the Psalm as he should, nor heare, &c. therefore he must not read nor heare the word: To sing, is we see taught by the light of nature, as well as the other, to pray, read, or heare the word. This Ordinance is not, as the Sacraments, which we doe not see so by nature's light, but have them by divine Institution revealed, having also a sealing nature annexed to them.

4. We finde the word calling upon all sorts of persons to praise God, *Psal. 96. 1. Sing unto the Lord all the earth, Psal. 68. 32. Sing unto the Lord all the Kingdomes of the earth, &c.* Severall such texts we finde.

I might adde more Arguments, and answer to some objections, but I content my selfe with these.

Object. *But they mixe with us in the Lords Supper.*

Ans. That the presence of others defile you [especially if you have done your duty to keepe that Ordinance cleare] is a thing that our Congregational men utterly deny; those who are acquainted with their workes, may see it often mentioned, therefore I quote none.

2. I wil be bold to say there are many Presbyterian Ministers, who have as few wicked men, at that Ordinance, as were in the Church of *Corinth*. There were more matters of exception in that Church for the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, then are in abundance of these Churches; besides, you see what course they did take to keep that Ordinance clear, and when they could not obtain what they desired of the Civil power, yet they resolved to goe further, which gave *Mr. Prynne* occasion to write against them.

3 I doubt if we examine things well, your selves are most to blame in that for which you separate. Suppose you be in a Congregationall Church, and have all things, as you desire; if there be any person there, who falls scandalously, that he deserves to be suspended from the Ordinance, I pray tell me, what method will you take? I am sure the method is this, *If thy Brother offend, tell him, if he heare thee not, take two, if not, tell the Church, Matth. 18.* What shall the Minister alone suspend him [it may be he knows not of it] when no Witnesse comes in against him? No sure; yea, suppose a Minister saw a man drunke, one of his Members, and none saw him, or knew it but himselfe; he deales indeed with this Member, but the man denyeth it, he said he was not; the Minister is sure he was drunke but wants witnesse; the man comes to the Supper [denying the thing though the Minister had wished him privately to forbear] shall the Minister now debarre him? No sure, the text laies another method, the Minister must not be the *sole Witnesse and Judge* too; For if Ministers may debarre upon their own heads without Witnesse, they may soone doe strange things; now have you done thus, dealt with the Person, or two of you gone to the Minister, and told him, you know such things by such persons, which you can and will prove, such things, as if not repented of, make him unfit for the Ordinance? and hath the Minister yet received him [if he hath, you have discharged your duty, and no guilt lyeth on you, you may partake] I doubt there are few have done thus, but if they be persons of quality (especially) then you pull in your hornes, afraid to appeare, but yet you will have the Minister to suspend him, when no Witnesse comes in (contrary to the rule) or else you separate; this blame will lye on your owne heads.

All your shift here is, we have no power to deale with men, we want an explicite Covenant.

Though I could heartily wish all our Ministers would follow the practise of the *Holland Churches*, who cause all, who come to the Sacrament, to promise to *subject to Discipline*, yet for the present I say this, there is an implicite Covenant in all these Churches, and if you be afraid to speake to these persons first, whom you would have suspended, then goe to the Minister, and carry sufficient Witnesses [as you must doe in any Church] and

See Master
Burro, Hof.
cap. 5. v. 3.

Apollon

I am confident, without satisfaction given [no more can be required in any Church] thousands of the Presbyteriall Ministers will keepe away scandalous persons; [at least you are cleare as I said before] yet to see these men separate for that, in which themselves are most to blame.

Obj. *But they baptize all Children, making no difference though never so scandalous.*

A. Though this is very seldome urged, yet because I would draw out all that can be said, I adde this.

For my owne practise, I confesse in this I differ from other men farre better then my selfe, but yet were I a Member of some other Presbyteriall Congregation, I should not dare to separate upon this ground.

Mr. Hook
Survey, p. 3
P. 11. 1 It is granted by our Congregationall men, that though persons be very wicked, yet so long as they live in visible Churches, and are not proceeded against, they may justly challenge the privileges of Church-Members: but I dare not deny them to be true visible Churches, in which there are many such, for there are many both *reall* and *visible* Saints in such Churches, where these wicked men are.

Obj. *But then this makes against your selfe, in denying some children Baptisme.*

Learned
Mr. Cam-
drey came
to my
hand, after
I had printed my little
Treatise, had I
seene him
before, I
should have
A. I answer; [as I have declared in that little Tract upon this question, which the uncivill carriage of some in the Congregation, when I had dealt lovingly with them in private before, forced me to print] I deny not them Baptisme absolutely, but as I suspend them from one of the Seales, so I doe from this also, till they will labour to get out of their grosse ignorance, and scandalous conversations, and will subject themselves to Church-Discipline; so that I doe [as say the *London Ministers*] *separate in the Church, but not from the Church; as*

humbly presented some answer to some things, which I see there, so farre as concerned my question [the question about Confederacy doth not concern me] also I would have propounded some Reasons, why his third way *i. e.* Adoption, I should not so easily admit under the New Testament, till those Reasons were removed. I perceive he admires at them who deny the Children of Excommunicated Parents Baptisme, I have no place now to answer but only this; I say, it is not good to put too much upon Baptisme, nor too little upon that dreadfull ordinance of Excommunication. What he saith, p. 202. about the impotence to reject prophane persons through the iniquity of the times, which implies what he would doe, if he had power, confirms my practise.

the state of our lapsed Churches will give us leave: I desire to proceed against such, yet but gently, [as for Excommunication, that is a great worke] having the advantage in the Church, that many good Ministers [better then my selfe] have not, viz. That the strongest Party in the Towne is religious; but had many Presbyteriall men the same advantage, I beleieve you should see they would be more strict then now they are. Congregations must be mended by degrees: to purge *per vices* in foule bodies, is better then at first to give *Hellebore, Scammony*, and such strong workers; it will cost abundance of prayer, wisdom, labour, meeknesse, to bring these Congregations fallen into this ignorance and prophanenesse for want of *Catechizing*, and *Discipline*; let the Bishops looke to their account.

Besides, divers Presbyteriall Ministers doe examine their people before they will Baptize, yea, and I have heard one who is esteemed a rigid Presbyterian say, That if the Presbyteriall Government were settled, they would Baptize none, but they would have the parents; 1. Examined in point of knowledge. 2. If they were scandalous, that they should confesse their sinne. 3. Promise for the time to come to reforme. 4. That if persons would refuse to submit to Church-Discipline, they would deny them the Lords Supper.

Since then it is in the hearts of many to reforme, and it is the thing they would gladly have power to doe, I thinke it is very unwarrantable upon this ground to separate from them; besides, there are many reasons they give for Baptizing of all that doe but *professe Christ*, which though they are not satisfactory unto me, so as to give the Seale of the Covenant to one, who saith, *He beleeves in Christ*, but yet is *grossly ignorant, scandalous*, &c. yet their reasons prevaile with me so, as to be very chairetable to those, who doe Baptize upon those grounds; if there be any sinne in it, let the Minister looke to that, that is not your fault.

Certainly, people thinke it is a very easie thing to reforme Churches, it may be done with a wet finger; but if they were in the place of Ministers, and had what knowledge is fit for the place, they would finde it a hard Worke, especially some Churches.

So then as yet we finde no grounds warrantable for this Separation: I come to the last; *The place of meeting, it is Idolatrous, and I know not what.*

I thought here to have given in some answers to this absurd cavill, but the practise of this generation hath given in a full answer; for it was observed in a neighbour Towne, the Minister not preaching upon a day of Thanksgiving, a Trooper got into the Pulpit, and did, &c. This was such a pretty thing, that divers of the Separatists in the Towne, who had not beene in the *Steeple-house* for some yeares before, ranne in haste, and became Auditors of the Trooper. Another of them, who called himselfe the *King of England*, came to me, and offered to supply my place [the man was mad, as error had made him mad, but for all civill actions sober enough:] now from these practises I gather, that either it is no sinne to meet in a *Steeple-house* [as they call it] or else they have no good consciences, these practises are frequent, if Troopers get into Pulpits.

Hof. 2.ch. 15 Lect. For the lawfulness of the assembling in these places, Mr. Burroughs hath pleaded. More might be added, but I spare the Reader.

As yet then we have found no sufficient ground for separation; I shall desire yet to come nearer, and request of these persons, what it is they would have, which way may wee be brought to an union; if what they propound be rationally, and will be borne out by Scripture, wee shall desire to come up to them; for I am sure in that posture wee now stand, nothing can goe forward. I have not their proposals before me, onely I may surmise what they would have, and accordingly I will set them downe, and examine them.

The Separatists first proposall. First, *We would have Ministers lay downe their former Ordination, and come joyne with us in an explicate Covenant, then wee will call them and ordaine them, and this will be one great way to union.*

Very good, but are all the Separatists of this minde, doe they require no more of their Ministers? I doubt you should have put in one clause more, i.e. *They must not expect any maintenance, but preach &c. freely.* What else is the reason that many of you do so cry out of Ministers, because they require maintenance of the people, when as the Spirit of God hath left so many expresse Texts in the Scripture for it [foreseeing this generation, who runne upon expresse Texts.] What is the reason divers

divers of you keepe backe your cythes (the maintenance the State for present allows) from the Ministers in the p'aces where you live? but if you be reall, that you would according to the Word, allow honourable maintenance, 1 Tim. 5. 17, 18. Then I shall come to your proposall.

Ans. 1. As I made use of one of your principles before, so now I will make use of another; you admit nothing for which you have not expresse Scripture. Hence you throw away Infant-baptisme, Sabbath, &c. Now I pray give us an expresse Text [precept or example] where we have it proved, That Ministers first chosen by the people [or had the consent of the people freely afterwards, though most of ours were elected at their first coming.] 2. Have Ordination for the substance, freely acknowledging the accidentall corruptions. 3. Men very well qualified, as any since the Apostles dayes. 4. Whom God hath used instrumentally to convert divers, or to build up those who were converted: 5. Have administred the Ordinances for many yeares; that yet after all this, they must lay downe their Ministeriall call, joyne with you, &c.

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A. & 20. 35
&c.
Briefly I
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a time,
therefore

God did in an extraordinary way help them. 2. Before they were converted, they had other trades, whereby they lived in their heathenisme, so they could follow other trades, if need were, but we have not other trades. 3. Our Churches are not so poore, so there is no such need. I could adde more, but this is enough. But these ignorant men know not the weight of the work of the Ministry.

I say, I challenge all the Separatists in England to give me one expresse Text: when you have done this, we shall bethinke our selves.

I call now for expresse Texts, for such is your owne principle; if that be a true principle, then I hope it is one for us, as well as for you. I put this once to a Separatist, who told me, this it was they required of Ministers: but the poore man could not bring one, and because he had held me to this rule of expresse Texts in another case [though I soone made him confesse, that necessary consequence would hold, by an instance I gave him; Suppose it had not beene recorded of Christ, that ever he ate or dranke, yet being it is recorded in Scripture, that he was true man, like to us in all things, but sinne; hence I would argue, If so, then he did eat and drinke, I beleieve that though it be not expressly written, the man yeilded] I held him to his owne principle here, but the man seeing himselfe so foiled, grew froward and angry, so I left him. To see the
frame

frame of these mens spirits, we may soone answer their reasons, but their wills they hold: It is no disputing against mens wills.

Medul.

Theol. li. c.

39. sect. 2

Survey ch.

disc part. 2

p. 66.

2. Dr. Ames, Mr. Hooker, and many of our Congregationall men affirme, That the election of the people gives the essentials to an officer, and that ordination is but an adjunct: And though there may be some defect in the peoples election at first, yet there may be the substance of it, and that will save it, or an after consent. See the places before quoted, pag. 5. If so, then there will be few of the Ministers of England excepted, who are not true Ministers: This I am sure you freely assent to, and make Ordination a thing not worth the regarding; why then doe you keepe such a stirre at that, which you looke upon as little, when as they have that, which you say, gives the essentials to an officer; what have they the essentials of an officer, and must they go and lay downe their call? you must rather say, Let them lay downe their election, then their ordination; but in saying so, you cut the throat of your owne Objection; for if they have election, then they have the essentials of a Minister, and then they are Ministers, your owne selves being judges. You would make Ministers very simple men to lay downe their former Call, and you would give them a Call, which they had before, elected before, and no more now.

Obj. But what we judge is one thing, they looke upon their Ordination as chiefe, and thinke they stand by that.

Ans. What is that to you what they thinke, they have that which, your selves say, gives the essence, so that they are Ministers, you cannot deny it, unlesse you will crosse your owne Position; and let them thinke so, why should this trouble you? Suppose a Deacon thinks his Ordination gives him the essentials of his Office, the people thinke their election doth; what then, will you separate from him, and not goe to him for reliefe in case of want? he hath Election and Ordination, so that to be sure a Deacon he is: the case is the same with our Ministers, see Mr. Burroughs urging this instance.

Iren. p. 183

184.

To cavill here, they were indeed elected, but not by the godly Party, it is very false, first of hundreds of the Ministers, some visible Saints had their Vote, or gave after their consent; I beleeve many of you, who now separate, did joyne in the Call of the Minister, from whom you now separate, which is worse; but however this is a feeble Objection.

3 Before they renounce their Ordination, you must prove they have not so much as the substance, and essence of that Ordinance; they will acknowledge accidentall corruptions, but still affirme they have the essence, and this none of you all have disproved.

4 In this which you require, you intimate, that they are no Ministers at all, for if they be true Ministers, though there were something humane mixed in their Call, their worke must be to renounce those humane mixtures [which they doe] but if they be not true Ministers, have not so much as the essentials of the Office, then they are no Ministers at all; Consequently, wee have had no ordinances at all; if you say, Yes, I pray tell me, how may any one, who is not an Officer dispense the Seales, preach Authoritatively, &c? You practise indeed, some of you, as if hee might, but it is a thing abhorred of all men, both Clasticall, and Congregationall; God is a God of order in his House, as well as in the world: In the Civill State none must be Justices of Peace, unlesse set apart to the Office, every man cannot make Warrants, nor execute Justice [yet some men have as much knowledge in the Law, as many Justices have] but in the Church of God, there must be no order. Our Ministers then have been but *private* men, all this while they have dispensed the Ordinances: it is the *Call* to a Place, or Office, that makes men Officers or publick persons, but *Call* they have none by your esteeme.

Learned Chamier proves, That Baptisme administered by a private person is no Sacrament at all.

Mr. Hooker speakes home to this point: he layed downe this conclusion; That there is a causall vertue put forth in a subordinate way under Christ, to bring in the specificall being of an Ecclesiasticall Office to a person, &c. After three things premised he comes to a fourth, viz. Persons though gifted and fitted every way, be they never so many, they are not therefore Officers.

A call they must have, without which none can warrantably doe any act, which belongs to an Officer.

Without this, whatever is done in that behalfe is voyd, and of none effect.

The validity of an outward Call appeares in this, if it proceeds from such, who may give it by rule, because whosoever hath regularly received this Call, he is then a true Officer, though not inwardly graced, and fitted worthily to such a place, &c.

Page 3. P. 9 Afterwards he speaks to this purpose againe; *It is a Frenzie of the Anabaptists, which begins to labour with the loathsomenesse of it selfe, that any Christian gifted, who can teach, or administer a word of instruction to win a Disciple after him, that he in a corner may Baptize him; but as Paul said of Jannes and Jambres, their madnesse is made to appeare to all, &c.*

If the Lord Christ in his infinite Wisdome, and Kingly care, conceived it necessary for the honour of the place, and the execution of the worke of a Deacon, to appoint choyce men, and solemne Ordination to Authorize them to the worke, &c.

The summe is, the practise is but loathsome, and the Acts of such men are voyd, who doe such things as properly belong to a Church-Officer, and are not called to the Office; thus Mr. Hooker.

Keys, p. 6 Mr. Cotton he speaks against such practices, so doth the streame
Inst. 1. 4 of all Divines, Calvin, Zanchy, Perkins, Ames, &c.

c. 15. f. 20 Hence then if you null their Call, you must null all the Acts
In par. 2. they have done as Ministers, and you will be troubled (as I
1. Vol. p. said before) which way to come into order; you had better
766. therefore be quiet, and if you wil needs quarrell with their Or-
Bell, ener. dination, yet content your selves with their election, which
to. 3. l. 2. you say is the chiefe.
c. 2.

Before I passe on to my last answer, let me a little examine this *Thesis*, viz. *Election gives the essentials, and Ordination is but an Adjunct*. Heretofore I have indeed been of this opinion, never much weighing the thing, being wholly carried away with the Authority of Dr. Ames, and Mr. Hooker, and others, admiring their learning and holinesse, seeing my selfe but a meere babe in comparison of these men, and so I judge of my selfe still; but I remember a passage of Mr. Hookers in his conference with forty Ministers, said he, *We see things fall out in our Churches, which puts us upon further searches*; so when I observed what use is made of this *Thesis* in England amongst our *Sectaries*, and what confusion is brought upon us, for any number of *Sectaries* will elect one (be he what he will) but Election gives the essence, Ordination is but an Adjunct, therefore may be left out; these practises have made me to search further into this opinion, this being my greatest trouble, that if I cast off the opinion, I must go crosse to such men, whom I doe so much admire and reverence; I am apt to thinke our holy Men did in this as our first

Refor-

Reformers did in other points; Luther let some words fall against the Law, which might have been spared; so our Divines in their definition of *(aving Faith*, in opposition to the Papists; so in this point the Papists cryed up ordination too high, ours now are runne on the other side, and cry up popular election as high, and cry downe Ordination, but surely a medium might have beene found out, which had come nearer to the rule (with submission I speake it.)

Reverend Mr. Hooker layes downe his Thesis thus, Election of Survey the people rightly ordered by the rule of Christ (I wish he had set downe this right order) gives the essentials to an officer, &c. but I doubt (with honour to this choice Saint) he hath not layed downe his Thesis so cleare, as Dr. Ames (whom he quotes after) I presume he intends the acceptation of the person elected must concur; nay, I will affirme the acceptation is as essential, as their election, for what if this, or that, or foure Churches more chuse I will refuse them all, if I please; if election gives the essentials, then it seems I must be a Pastor to that people, who elects me, will I, nill I; but this reverend Mr. Hooker will not owne: then I say election doth not give the essentialls. Secondly, I say my own acceptation, is as essentiall to my Call, as their election, therefore Dr. Ames layes it thus, *Vocationis essentia est in electione Ecclesiae, & acceptatione electi*; but this is not material, for our Sectaries are forward enough to accept, if any will elect.

Part. 2.
pag. 66.
Medul.
Th. l. x. c.
39. l. 32.

In searching out this truth, I shall desire to set by all men, and consult with the Scriptures; I wil first search what texts we have for Election, then what for Ordination, and this I set down with my self, that if Ordination be but an Adjunct, & the election so essentiall, then the Texts for Election are farre more cleare, full; and those for Ordination more dark and rare; for an Adjunct, the meanest Logician knowes, is but little in comparison of an essentiall cause; it doth consentire, but *modo quodam*; 2. It supposeth the subject compleat in its essence before; 3. Therefore potest abesse; much might be spoken this way.

The Texts I finde for Election are three, neither doe I observe our Divines to quote any more.

1. The first is, *Act. 1. 23.* where we have these things observable, as here are eleven Apostles in this election, but we allow those to choose, where there is no officer to guide them, and many times very weak persons,

2. It is very easie to chooſe one of theſe, for *v. 21*. It was one who *had accompanied them from the time &c.* This was easie for the meanest to know, but to chooſe a man fit for a Paſtor, requires more skill then ſo.

3. If we obſerve it narrowly, they did not ſo properly elect the Apoſtle, for when they had appointed two, *Joſeph and Matthias* ſuppoſe one ſhould have asked *Peter*, or the reſt, which of theſe is the Apoſtle? he muſt have ſaid he could not tell, properly God made the election: then they knew who was the Apoſtle, like to ſome *Corporations* in the choice of a Mayor, the ſcore nominate two, but the Aldermen chooſe which they will have, whence the people ſay, *The Aldermen chooſe the Mayor*. 1. Something may here be gathered for popular election, but very different is this practice from ours, I could adde other ſcruples, but I forbear.

2 The ſecond place is *Act. 6. 3.* a very cleare place for the popular election of a Deacon, but the laſt words of the verſe do very much ſhake this notion of Ordination, being but an adjunct, yea, it ſhakes the eſſentiall cauſality of popular election, *Doe yee looke on, &c.* but they adde, *whom Wee may appoint over this buſineſſe*. How doe the Apoſtles appoint them over the buſineſſe? It is by *Ordination* verſ. 16. Thoſe that doe authoritatively appoint another, or others over ſome buſineſſe, they put forth a cauſall vertue ſurely in that appointing; theſe appointed by this Act of Ordination [the Apoſtles did not meddle here with the election] then the Apoſtles Ordination was more then an Adjunct.

From this place Divines argue commonly, If they may chooſe Deacons, then much more Paſtors, to whom they are more engaged, muſt honour, maintaine them, &c.

Thus we argue one while a *majori*, the people elected an Apoſtle, *ergo*, they may elect a Paſtor; here now a *minori*, the people elect a Deacon, *ergo*, they may elect a Paſtor, but then thoſe Axioms one of them muſt bee falſe, a *majori licet* *ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐλάττω* ſolummodo, & à *minori ſolum* *ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐλάττω*, both which experience proves to be falſe, and Logicians obſerve it; but put the caſe we ſhould queſtion this argument; The people may elect a Deacon, *ergo*, their Paſtor; election followeth the judgement, and is guided by it, but muſt we needs ſuppoſe the people to be as able to judge, who is fit for a Paſtor, as who is fit for a Deacon?

Deacon? Dr. Ames saith, à minori ad majus, si quantitas probabilitatis intelligatur, semper concluditur affirmatè. Is this as probable? Sure it is lesse probable, that the people should be fitter to judge of the fittest of a Pastor, then a Deacon. I am confident there are hundreds of Congregations in England, in which there are many reall Saints, yet all the Jesuits in Rome might scatter themselves into these Congregations, and not be discerned, if the people were left alone to their owne election: Hence therefore our Divines dare not trust the people alone with the election of an officer, but tells us they must have the counsell of the Presbyters, as Dr. Ames, and Mr. Cartwright upon *Act. 14. 23. Rhem. Test.* We do not onely give unto the Bishops (Scripture Bishops) Ordination, but also we make them the chiefe, and directors in the election, saith he, where is this practised?

Thef. log
143.

Medul. l. 1.
c. 39 f. 3.
& Bel.
cner. To. 2.
l. 3. c. 2.
f. 23.

The third is that of *Act. 14. 23.* χειροτονήσαντες, but certainly if we come to find out the substantives to this participle, they must be the same which were substantives to παρακληθέντες ἐπισκοπεῖν, and they were Paul and Barnabas: I know what is said about χειροτονία to defend the peoples election, as the custome was taken from the Grecians; Dr. Ames saith χειροτονία ὁ χειροθεσία apud veteres idem sepe sonant, so it appears by that passage of Basil quoted by Chamier to prove, that no private person may baptise λαοὶ περιέουσι ἐπὶ τῷ βαπτίζειν, ἐπὶ τῷ χειροτονεῖν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, but if it be taken in that sense here, I doe not know how it will pleasure the people, unlesse we should goe crosse to the gramaticall construction.

To. 4. l. 5.
c. 14. f. 65.

The summe is, there are no places brought for the peoples election, but those who are but shallow, will finde enough from the Texts to wrangle very hard, though I am for the peoples election my selfe.

*Zanchy
in 4 pæ.
Calvin in
loc.

Piscat. in
loc. obs. 2

Milcol.

in loc.

Diodat. in
loc.

English

Annot. &c

expound

it of the

ordination

of Paul &

Barnabas

The Texts brought for Ordination are these:

Milcol.

in loc.

Diodat. in
loc.

English

Annot. &c

expound

it of the

ordination

of Paul &

Barnabas

Act. 6. 6. When they had prayed, they laid hands on them.

Act. 13. 3. * When they had fasted and prayed, and laid on hands, &c. they did not separate Paul and Barnabas by Election, but Ordination.

Heb. 6. 2. The laying of hands there, is meant of Ordination, say Pareus, Dickson, Gillespie, Johnson. H. Jacob urges the Text, so that he would overthrow all the Ministry of England, because (he said) they erred in the Foundation, but he mistakes: Mr. Hooker proves Church-discipline to be a fundamentall point

of Religion from this place thus : " That which is a fundam^tentall point of Religion , that hath Divine Institution,&c.

" But Church-discipline is a fundamentall point of Religion, *Heb. 6.*

" Laying on of hands, being by a metonymy of the Adjunct, put for Ordination; Ordination, one particular, put for the whole of Church discipline. So Mr. *Hooker.*

1 Tim. 4. 14. With the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery : I know not that this Text is questioned by our Divines, Mr. *Hooker*, and our *New England* Divines from this Text conceive Imposition of hands in Ordination to be nearest the rule, as I have quoted them before.

1 Tim. 5. 22. Though some would have it of the admitting of penitents, of which we have no example in Scripture, yet the common interpretation is of imposition of hands in Ordination; this interpretation hath other Scriptures to confirme it, the other none.

1 Tim. 5. Ordaine Elders in every City. I doe not finde that our Divines oppose this place neither. What *Seſtaries* carp at, I weigh not.

Miscel. p. 37. *Rom. 10. 15.* How shall they preach, except they be sent ? Mr. *Gillespy* hath, I thinke, sufficiently cleared this Text. To be sure, he is not alone in his interpretation. He likewise clears Ordination from that, *Heb. 5. 4.* and first verses.

Now since the Scripture is more copious, and plaine in giving us examples, and presidents of ordination of Ministers, then of the peoples election of Ministers (though I grant something may well be drawne out of those Texts for election against the Papists, besides the ancient course of the Church) I cannot see any reason (if Scripture be our guide) why we should cloath these Texts for Ordination with this logicall affection of an *Adjunct*, and the other with the affection of a *formall cause* : I should put most upon that, where the Scripture is plainest and fullest, which I am sure in any mans esteeme, that observes those Texts with an impartiall eye, is ordination.

Vind. chu. Cath. viſ. Whether Ordination according to Scripture-light be not as essentiall to a Minister as Election, let any one judge. I thinke Mr. *Hudson* speaks Christianly, *I preferre one Divine Testimony, before ten arguments, and one good argument, before ten humane Testimonies.*

monies. But thus by cloathing these Scriptures with these logical affections, we have cried up election, and cryed downe Ordination, sectaries take advantage of this, and hence come in our disorders. Ordination is a Divine institution.

Ars est in rebus, and Logicke is a generall Art, so that we must give some logical terms to Election and Ordination: I deny not this, onely it is good to bring Art to Scripture, and not carry Scripture to Art: If you aske, what logical Arguments are there betweene a Ministers call, and Election and Ordination? I said before what if I should answer, The Call is *Totum integrale*, Election and Ordination are *membra* constituting this *Totum*; Thus I make Election to be essentiall, and so I speake the highest of Election, though I must professe upon serious thought, I rather question whether Election be essentiall, then I doe Ordination. Reverend Mr. Hooker indeed saith, Ordination is but the approbation of a person constituted in his office; but I am apt to thinke, Ordination doth most respect that inward, or *Arcanum vocationem* (as Zanchy calls it) which God gives a man into the Ministry, fitting and qualifying of a man first for the worke (which none else can do) and giving him an earnest desire to the worke, God did there as it were, separate him inwardly, and now he doth it outwardly in Ordination. The particular Congregation doth but give him a Call by their election and subjection to him, to exercise this power among them *pro hic & nunc*; That which moves me to thinke so is,

First, Churches may not choose whom they list (as doe our Sectaries) but persons qualified by God.

Secondly, the Scripture is so full and cleare for Ordination over it is for Election, though I deny not but Election may well bee proved.

Thirdly, because a man may in some cases be ordained to the Ministry, when no election of the people doth precede, as I shall give instance afterward.

2. I argue thus:

If the election of the people doth give the essentials to an officer, then may a man elected execute all officiall power without ordination, and that commonly.

But no man may execute officiall power, and that commonly without ordination; ergo, election doth not give the essentials; by the essentials here, he meanes the formall cause,

for

for as for the materiall cause, they cannot give that, and we have but two causes that doe *dare essentiam*, though all foure doe *dare esse*.

The consequence is cleare, that they may execute, &c. without ordination, for *forma dat operari*; but election gives the forme, say these Reverend men, and ordination is but an Adjunct, effects doe not depend upon Adjuncts; for operation, the forme gives that.

The minor, that they must not doe so.

Survey

part. 3. pag.

9.

First, it is crosse to Scripture-presidents; if it were but a Deacon, saith Mr. *Hooker*, yet, we see, he was ordained.

Secondly, It is crosse to your owne practise; it is frequent in *New England* to have a man elected, and preach halfe a yeare, a whole yeare, yea, I know one elected and preached two yeares to his people, and they maintained him all that while, and yet all that time he never administred a Sacrament to his people, but he and they, when they would partake of the Lords Supper, went ten miles to the Church, out of which they issued, to receive the Sacrament; but this was very hard and needlesse, if he had the forme given him in election.

2. That which doth nextly invest a man with official power, so as now he may performe officiall acts, and before which he could not doe so, that doth give essence, and consequently is not a meer adjunct.

But Ordination doth nextly invest a Minister with official power, so as now he may performe official acts, which before he could not doe; *ergo*,

The minor is clear by the Scripture-examples.

Secondly, it is clear by your owne practise, for those who for two yeares, and more, stood onely by election, but that while dispensed no Sacraments, when they were ordained, did presently put forth all official acts.

The major, take all together, I suppose will not be denied; it doth nextly invest a man with official power, so as now he can performe official acts, and before he could not doe it; to say he had official power before given him by election, but could not act it, is strange, *frustra est illa potentia*, &c. had such a person continued twice as long unordained, he had not executed any official power, nay, his preaching all that time was not esteemed preaching by way of office.

Neither

Neither can it be said such preach onely upon triall, for I now speake of such, as had benee tried before, nay, have benee preachers in *England* long before they went over, and such I am sure, as the people would willingly had them ordained within one month after they had chosen them, they were so well satisfied in the persons, whom they had chosen.

Fourthly, it is something that solemnity the Scripture expresseth, that was in the ordination of Ministers, prayer and fasting, and imposition of hands: we read of no such solemnity in election, though people ought to pray before they doe choose. So it was in *New England*, this act was very solemne; when notice was given of the ordination of an officer to the severall Churches (as before any ordination, all the Churches adjacent had notice given) it ran in that forme, *There is an Ordination to be this weeke at such a Church, &c.* for the election of the person, we knew it long before, whom they had chosen, and though the people did by their suffrage declare their election in this day of Humiliation, yet they declared no more then the Country knew before; and I hope you will not say, he was not elected before now, when first they chose him to goe with them, or come to them, and there continued a yeare or two preaching, & they contributing to his maintenance; the same I might say in regard of myself, I had as fulan election of my people at my first coming, as was declared at my ordination, and it was above two years, before I could get my ordination in the place where I was elected (through the troubles of the times) but all that while I did not conceive my selfe invested with official power, till I was also ordained. The Scripture then expressing such solemnity in this act, and not in the other, makes me thinke, this is not such a slight Adjunct, and the other onely essentiall.

Fifthly, I observe two Texts, which make me think ordination is not an Adjunct, 2 Tim. 2. *And the things which thou hast heard of me among many witnesses, the same commit thou to faithfull men, who should be able to teach others also.* And that Text, 1 Tim. 5. 22. *Lay hands suddenly upon no man, neither be partakers of other mens sins &c.* Timothy is a Church-officer, here is a charge given to him to take heed, who comes into the Ministry, yea, he may be partaker of other mens sinnes, if he have not a speciall care, whom he admitteth into the Ministry, *Nam si quem cito ordinaveris, qui*
K
indignus

communis indignus sit, communicabis peccatis alienis, dum ille malè docebit, aut
care eum vivet, saith Gerhard in *Loc.* He quotes also Leo Papa, Ep. 87. *Ad*
dicit pec- Africanos Episc. Quid est ciùd manus imponere, nisi ante etatem matu-
catis qui ritatis, ante tempus examinis, ante meritum laboris, ante experien-
non proba- tiam Discipline, sacerdotalem honorem tribuere non probatis? Calvin
tus fuit also on the last words, Keep thy selfe pure; *Ac si dixisset, si quid*
ordinatus. perperam fiat ab aliis, vide ne ulla ex consensu, vel approbatione contagio
Hieron in ad te perveniat. He referres it to Timothy, joyning with others in
Loc. v. ordaining unworthy persons; now these texts doe not belong
Zanch. in to the people, but Ministers, Officers, as was Timothy, which
præc. p. makes me thinke, that what the Ministers doe in examining, try-
784. &c. ing, ordaining, is more then the peoples election; where doe
 we finde such things spoken to the people? Where the greatest
 blame lyes, for unworthy men coming into the Ministry, surely there must
 be the greatest power of admitting men into the Ministry, else the blame
 is not just; but we see the blame is here layed upon the Mini-
 sters; Paul no where writes to the people to commit the things
 they have heard, &c. nor doth he bid them not lay on hands suddenly,
 &c. he bad them indeed looke out men for Deacons, but that
 doth not answer these texts; but if the great stroke, the firmall
 cause lye in the popular election, the Ministers may well say, We
 doe but ordaine, we give but an Adjunct, the people did the maine Act,
 they gave the essence, the essence being given, we must give the Adjunct,
 so that there will be no blame left for the Ministers.

6 It should seeme by a passage of Doct. Ames, that ordination
 is more then an Adjunct; Bellarmine had said, *Vocatio seu missio*
miner. To. 2 *ministorum non ad populum pertinet, sed ad Episcopos, &c.* Doct. Ames
l. 3. c. 2. in his second answer hath these words; *Absurdè ad modum di-*
S. 12. *stinguitur vocatio ministri, ab ejus Ordinatione & electione, tanquam*
pars distincta; neque in Scripturis, neque in antiquis Patribus alia voca-
tio ordinaria memoratur, quam illa, quæ exurgit, quasi Totum, ex electio-
ne & ordinatione: what Totum the Doctor meanes, is plaine by
 his words, *Exurgit ex ordinatione & electione,* he meanes Totum
 integrale; so then ordination and election are members of this
 Integrum, but all the members doe give essence to the Integrum,
 for *Membra sunt symbola causarum essentialium.* If so, then ordina-
 tion cannot be an Adjunct in respect of a Ministeriall Call, for
 no Adjunct gives essence, but followes the essence, supposing the
 subject compleat in its essence before; if then ordination doth
 give essence, as well as election, this notion may hold, else we
 should

should have an *Integrum* consisting but of two parts, and but one part give the essence, which cannot be. This notion of a Ministers Call to consist as a *Totum ex electione & ordinatione*, is much nearer the Rule, then to have election alone to give the essence, and ordination to be but an Adjunct.

To this agrees Mr. Jacob [a man well known] *There are two Dr. Sea-*
essentia parts of calling to the Ministry, Election, Ordination: so the *man* quotes
Calling is a *Totum*. As for the Objections made against this, if him,
ordination be essentiall, what then shall become of our Mini- *Anf. to*
sters, whose ordination is not legitimate? This I have spoken *Diat, p. 64*
to before; and so, what will you doe in case a Church were so
cast by providence, that they could get no Officers to Ordaine
them an Officer? [for those who are of this opinion deny the
People power to ordaine] it is easily yeelded by our Divines,
that may be done in an extraordinary case, which ordinarily
ought not to be done. See Rutherford, *Due right of Presbytery*, p.
187. Gillespie, *Miscel.* p. 34. &c. for my part, I conceive then
the Church fasting, and praying, for such a one, who is elected,
may doe that which is æquivalent to ordination, though it be
not ordination *formaliter*.

The strong argument where-with reverend Master Hooker
proves, That Election gives the Essentials to an Officer is
this:

One Relate gives the essentiall constituting causes to another.

But Pastor and People are Relates; ergo.

The answer which Mr. Rutherford gives to it, viz. *That ordina-*
tion made him a Minister before, and election doth but appropriate him;
This Mr. Hooker denyeth to be any answer, because it suppo-
seth ordination to antecede election, which is quite crosse to
the Scripture pattern, *Act. 6. 3. 6.* But (with favour) I should
humbly propound this question, Whether Ordination may in *This is not*
no case precede election? As now in this case, Suppose one of *a bare sup-*
the Schollars in the Colledge, or suppose foure, or more had *position,*
learned the *Indian* Language, and upon examination they were *for one of*
found to be Ministerially qualified; suppose now the Presby- *the young*
tery should solemnly set apart these young men to the worke of *Schollars*
the Ministry, and send them forth to preach among the *doth now*
Indians, though the *Indians* have not elected them; here indeed *preach to*
would the essentials of an Officer be given without election: *the Indi-*
I pray what breach of rule would here be? If it be said, that the *ans in their*
language.

Though
some deny
ordination
here to be
meant, yet
many lear-
ned men
affirme it.

Suppose
laborious
Mr. Eliot
were not
ordained,
who should
baptize
the Indians,
called
home to
Christ by
him?
The first
preachers,
that came
into Eng-
land were
ordained,
before e-
lected
here.

examples mentioned, *Act. 6.* & *Act. 14.* shew their election goes first; It is true indeed where there are Churches, but here are none. Besides, *Act. 13. 3.* when *Paul* and *Barnabas* were sent out to preach among the Gentiles they were ordained, when no election did precede; it is true, they were extraordinary Officers, but what then? though this doth not make those young men extraordinary Officers, as were the Apostles, to have power in all Churches, yet I see not any breach of rule in separating them to this work. If it be said, what need of that Ordination, they may preach without? It is true, they may, but it is not so comfortable, as when men are set apart by a Divine institution, there is an authority more conferred; they may now baptize as they finde successe of their Ministry (which was the old way) and shal not need be put to those troubles, which now they are; as suppose they should convert divers *Indians* forty or fifty miles from any Plantation, how shall these be baptised? what, shall they now elect, and ordaine these men? shall unbaptised persons ordaine an Officer? where have we a rule for that? then it seemes all these must come to another Church, &c. forty or fifty miles distant, to a Church also whose language they understand not, and there be baptised by a Minister, whom they understand not, nor he them. Here are many odde things fall in, crosse to all Scripture presidents, but to have these ordained and sent forth, is not crosse to the Scripture presidents; but if this be granted, then Ordination without election may give the essentials to an Officer.

But further, here you say election gives the essentials, I beseech you, what shall we doe then with all those Scriptures, where ordination is held out so fully? shall we omit them if they containe but an Adjunct? No, I am sure this gracious Saint would not doe so, his heart was so awed with high thoughts of God, and his Word, that he dared not omit such a Divine institution, as those Scriptures hold out; are then those six or seven Scriptures alledged for ordination, as necessary to a Ministers Call, as those three which are brought for election? if not, I pray give a reason, why some Scriptures should be lesse set by, then others in this nature; Divine Authority we acknowledge in both: but this was far from this reverend mans thoughts, for we see him prove *Church-Discipline to be a fundame[n]tall point of Religion, from imposition of hands*; then if these Scrip-

Scriptures be equally as necessary to the constitution of a Minister, that none must dare to omit them, we doe but *λογομαχεῖν* in saying, that ordination is but an Adjunct, &c. In constituted Churches, those, who omit ordination, goe crosse to those many texts of Scripture, they follow not the patterne, and so fin against the second Commandement, as do they, who go crosse to the texts for election; and if election in an extraordinary case may serve without a formall ordination, in the like case may ordination be without election, and so we are even.

Some I know make little of election, but I would give it the most

Further, in answer to the Argument, they are *Relates*; suppose I should say, The election of the people gives a part of the essence to the Officer [for so we considered the Call of a Minister to be a *Totum* arising out of election and ordination, as Doctor Ames] it may be you will say, *Relata, quæ sic*, doe not give a part of the essence, but the whole; here then will be our trouble, whether we must bring Scripture to Logick, or carry our Logick to Scripture; why then doe not Ministers act officially upon bare election, as I said before? But it is answered, their election gives the essence, as he is *their Minister*, but ordination gives the essence, as he is a *Minister*; for ordination doth invest a Minister with power to act beyond those, who have called him, giving him an habituall power in *actu primo* to exercise and performe the Acts belonging to his Office else-whereupon a Call. I know indeed our *New England Divines*, many (I say not all) as wel as reverend Mr. Hooker, are of another opinion, *That a man is an Officer only to his own particular Congregation*, *Relatorum mutuum est iter*; but suppose I should say, A Minister bears an habitual relation to the whole Church-Catholick visible, which some of our Divines doe now (I thinke) strongly prove; for my part I could never swallow that notion, that a Pastor preaches only, as a Pastor, to those who elected him, and to other Churches, as a gifted Brother. I dare boldly affirme in the Apostles times, and the purest Ages next them, this notion was never heard. As for this notion of a *Catholick visible Church*, I have not so much busied my head about it till of late, & in my weak judgement I think, there is so much said for it by Mr. Hudson (especially) and others, that I suppose it will not easily be answered; that which made me leane to this opinion, was;

Mr. Hudson hath spoken closely to this. Vind. Chur. Cathol. vis. & p. 138. ad. 151.

First; the light which his Scriptures and Arguments bring along with them.

2 I did not see by this notion, that the people were at all

defrauded of what is properly theirs, they may elect officers; they may have power to bring in testimony, to exclude unworthy communicants, yea, or may object against any, who should be admitted Church-members (if Churches were in their first constituting) if they knew good reason why they should not be admitted; neither are they debarred from consenting with their officers in excommunication; I say, I doe not see but these priviledges may consist with this notion.

Mr. Hudf.
vind. 160.
161.

Let parti-
cular chur-
ches walk
as they
should re-
gularly
and they
have as
much li-
berty as
they can
desire; if
they walk
irregularly
See Mr.
Cottons
Keyes
53. 54. the
second
Impressi-
on.

3. I saw this notion did not crosse that Position, which I have held out, viz. *That a particular Church organized, and walking regularly, may execute all the power of the Keyes within it self.* I see not how a particular Church in this case is at all hindred, for such a Church to walke irregularly, and to claime exemption from all other Church-power, let those, that will, be members of such Churches, I desire not to be so, but in such Churches, where there may bee meanes to helpe a wicked heart.

4. In this notion I saw a way how Congregations, that have no Ministers may have Ministers ordained successively by officers (which I am sure was the old way) yea, and officers may be judged *per pares* and excommunicated; I saw it would bring in much order into Churches.

5. The practises I observed in *New England* that did imply such a notion as this, did lead me much to it.

I. As that members of one Church did so frequently partake of the Sacraments, both the Lords Supper, and Baptisme in other Churches; one Pastor it may be might administer the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, to the members of five or six Churches at one time; *I know it is often said that a Mayor of one Corporation, may administer justice to the members of another Corporation, if they be under his jurisdiction, but he must not goe to them, but similia ad pompam, non ad pugnam.* The Analogie betweene a Commonwealth, and the Church will not hold, as I may touch afterward; but this I am sure, according to that practise, that seven make a Church, they may admit five or six whole Churches, and a Pastor chosen by none of them may administer the Sacrament to them all at one time; but doe we finde whole Corporations goe to the Mayor of another Corporation for Justice? Mr. Philips Pastor of the Church in *Water-town*, while Mr. Wilson Pastor of the Church of *Boston* was here in *England*, went to *Boston*, and administred the Lords Supper to that Church

(I was not then in the Country, but I heard of it soone after, when I went over with Mr. *Wilson*) I know no sin in that act. I thought to have given some Instances, how frequent this was in the Primitive Churches, for one Minister to act officially beyond the people, who elected him: But Mr. *Hudson* (a man far more able) hath set down those examples, which I would have given, and many more, to whom I referre the Reader; Yea, it was ordinary for the members of one Church to dwell one or two yeares; nay, six, or seven yeares in another Towne, and to partake of the Sacraments there as frequently, as any of the members of that Church: Indeed of late the Elders have not liked this, to have them live so remote from the inspection of their owne officers, and therefore have required such to joyne with the Church, where they dwell, this is good and orderly: The letters also of Recommendation, which the Churches make for the members, when they come over hither, requiring of the Churches here what communion, counsell, or comfort they shall need, promising the performance of the like debt to others, &c.

2. Also I saw, if a man were excommunicated out of one Church, he stood excommunicated out of them all, but if a man be disfranchised in one Corporation, another Corporation may receive him, and give him his freedome, if they please, this shews there is something more in a Church, then in a Commonwealth.

3. I saw they preached frequently in other Churches, but that it should be onely, as gifted brethren, this is so harsh to conceive: I pray what act doth the *mayor* of one Corporation do in another Corporation like this, that carries authority in it? and that here we must distinguish of the *Mayor*, if he did this at home, he did it as a *Mayor authoritatively*, but in this Corporation he doth it as a private man?

Further, they are Ministers or Pastors onely to those, who elect, and the fraternity only elect (where there is no officer) but there are divers in the severall Townes, who are not joyned to the Churches, so they did not elect, then it seemes they preach as pastors, onely to those, who elected; but to the rest of the Towne, as gifted men; consequently, when God blesses their labours to the conversion of any of those, they convert them (instrumentally) not as Ministers of Christ, ordained, separated.

rated to that worke, but onely as gifted men; yea, they never convert any, as Ministers, unlesse some of those, who elected them be close hypocrites, and so they convert them; but ordinarily those, who choose, are reputed godly already, and they are Ministers only to them. Hence rises that vile notion, that some here have taken up, *That Pastors should preach onely to the edification of the Saints, not to others.*

Survey
part. 2. pag.
59.

4. I have heard since I came away, that when people have chosen an Officer, and had no Officers to ordaine him, that the Ministers of other Congregations have done it, and the Confession of Church-discipline by the Synod of *New England*, as also Mr. *Hooker*, allow as much.

5. If one Congregation should prove pertinaciously scandalous, and hereticall, then though they doe not formally excommunicate such a Congregation, yet all the Churches in the Country would proceed to the *Non-communication* of such a Church; and for all the Churches to expresse so much to such a Church, *We do all renounce communion with you, &c.* this amounts to a censure, and is equivalent to excommunication, containing in it all the effects, that appear in excommunication, and so I should reckon my selfe as much excommunicated.

Iren. 43.

Mr. *Burroughs* saith, *They may by a solemn act in the name of Christ, refuse any communion with them, till they repent. They may declare in the name of Christ, that these erring Churches are not to be received into fellowship with any Churches of Christ, nor to have communion one with another in the Ordinances of Christ; all this solemnly in Christs name: Onely some (may be) will say, if this be an Ordinance of Christ, bring out the texts to prove this, and then we shall see, if those texts wil not beare it out, that the Churches united thus in this censure, have not some authority over that particular Church. If you goe to the old politie, the Synedrion had power over particular Congregations; if to light of nature, that will carry it; so that we must have texts to decide this Question. For my part I must leave this to better heads.*

Laying all together, the Churches seeme to pactise, as if there were such a Church.

Some things there are, which a little trouble me in this notion, that make me not come off so roundly in receiving it; I question not the Church-catholicke-visible, but I meane that

it is one organically body, but as he said *Veritas est temporis filia*, so I beleve Time will cleare out this, but so much I see, as commands me to lean to that side.

I was thinking how dangerous this might prove; If the major part of the Catholick-visible-church should decline, grow superstitious &c. other Churches yet remaining pure, if they did not subject to the major part, what then? but I saw inconveniences also on the other side, if a Congregation be so entire, that they can elect, ordaine, and are exempted from all power, then Arians, Photinians, and all manner of Hereticks may elect, ordaine, &c. who shall deny them? and besides, suppose the major part of Congregationall Churches should decline, they would proceed to Non-communication of other particular Churches more pure, and this is in a manner all one.

Further, If so, then if a Minister be removed from one Congregation to another, or if his people should dye, he now is but a private person, and may nor baptise, &c.

Hence also he must have another ordination when elected, and as oft as he is elected; I confesse I am not cleare in the practise; I have searched to finde what Scripturall grounds there were for it, but I finde none that these Reverend Elders expresse, some have alleadged in conference, that *Act. 13. 3.* Paul and Barnabas were ordained before, and now they are ordained againe: but I finde Mr. Hooker saying, *here was no ordination to office at all. Survey part. 2. pag. 83.* then I perceive this will not warrant it; I finde learned Chamier also of that opinion, he saith, there was not properly any ordination into a new Ecclesiastical office, but *confirmatio missionis ad Gentes, ad quas nondum erant ex professo missi.* The Author of the Diatribe, saith they were Ministers before, *Act. 12. ult.* but I doubt that place will not prove it, for their fulfilling of their Ministry or Charge there, may refer to *C. 11. 29, 30.* the carrying of the relief to the Saints at Jerusalem, which they might do, though no Apostles.

Here then we are in the dark what to judge of the text, if we rest onely upon mens opinions, there are many, who are for the contrary opinion, that here was ordination, as I have named before, and I thinke those, whom Chamier quotes in the twentieth Section of the former Chapter, conceive so, saith he, *Act. 13. Imponuntur manus Paulo, & Barnabae mittendis ad Evangelii predicationem in Gentes, quid hoc est? Chrysostomus, Theophylactus*

I have not heard any there, but here alleadged it.

To. 4. l. 4. c. 24. f. 25.

So our English Annotations, and Calv. in Loc.

Oecumenius, *ἐν τῷ ἀποστολῷ*, *ad Apostolatum*. Me thinks when I see here are the same acts done, which are done at another Ordination, and there was no Ordination before, nor after, where any more acts were done, why this should not be understood for Ordination, I know not: A man to be separated to the work whereunto God called him (the worke of the Ministry) therefore to have prayer, fasting, and imposition of hands, this was done at other Ordinations, when others were separated, though not to be Apostles, as these were. I dare not say that these were not Apostles before now, because I see so many Divines are of that opinion; for Barnabas we finde him made mention of, *Act. 4. 36.* a Levite, and a man of excellent gifts, no doubt, as it appears in Chap. 11. but to say he was an Apostle before, I doe not see it made so cleare, *Act. 13. 1.* There were Prophets and Teachers, as Barnabas, so that Barnabas was one of them, but as yet not an Apostle, for we know these are distinguished, Apostles, Prophets, &c. though I dare not gain-say it, but impute it rather to my ignorance; for Paul, there seemeth to bee more said for him, *Act. 9* for those that say Ananias his imposition of hands upon Paul, was to separate him to the worke of his Apostleship (for that was one end of Imposition of hands)

Pareus
upon Gal.
1. 1. when
Paul saith
he was an
Apostle
not by man,
thinks he
points to
this *Act. 9.*
but so he
was not,
though
here he
were first
called to
that office
for his call
was im-
mediate,
as Chamier
notes. To.
4. 1. 4. c. 24

I dare not oppose Divines in this, the 12. vers. saith, *He saw one in a vision, putting his hands upon him, that he might receive his sight, and Ananias saith, vers. 17. The Lord hath sent me, that thou mightest receive thy sight, and be filled with the Holy Ghost.* Now if that necessarily implies that ergo now he was ordained to his Apostleship, I will not oppose, though it is possible that might be, though he were not yet an Apostle; and this is somewhat different from others, that first Ananias alone, secondly in a private house, (the question is who were with Paul in the house) 3. before he was baptised, should be ordained thus to be an Apostle, though I cannot oppose much, for if Christ will have it, it is orderly enough; but if they were men extraordinarily qualified, and not set apart to the office of their Apostleship, then this place of *Act. 13. 3.* may be interpreted of their ordination to the office of their Apostleship. But suppose they were Apostles, yet wil this text be sufficient prooffe to maintaine, that Ministers must bee newly ordained, if they remove from one particular Congregation to another? I am sure there may bee sufficient grounds, given, why they may remove; if indeed the case were now, as then it

was with the Gentiles [Act. 11. 19. The scattered Disciples preached to the Jews onely, but the Gentiles had none sent among them before in this manner, as those were sent (though Peter had beene with *Cornelius*) to be Apostles of the Gentiles) we might allow a second Ordination : In Antiquity we do not finde a second Ordination made mention of; something we finde to the contrary, as in that Tract of *Cyprian*, which though it may be proved not to be *Cyprians* owne, yet no doubt the Author may be as ancient as *Cyprian*, written in his time, as *Pamelius* observes, neither doth *Goulartius* oppose him in it; *De Ablutione pedum*
Nemo sacros ordines semel datos iterum renovat, &c.

In the 67. *Can. Apost.* thus, *Si quis Episcopus, aut Presbyter, aut Diaconus, secundam ab aliquo ordinationem susceperit, deponitur tam ipse, quam qui ipsum ordinavit, nisi forte constet ordinationem eum habere ab hereticis, &c.*

Augustine speaking of Baptisme and Ordination saith, *Utrumque enim Sacramentum est, & quadam consecratione utrumque homini datur, illud cum baptizatur, istud cum ordinatur; ideoque in Catholica utrumque non licet iterari.* To the same purpose he speaks in his booke, *de bono conjugali, contra Jovin. c. 24.* *Contra perniciam l. 2. c. 13.*

From which places I gather it was not their manner to iterate Ordination; indeed Scripture and strong Argument, is more then humane Testimony; but that is not sufficient to say, Ordination is but the approbation of a person constituted in his office, unlesse it could be proved that Ordination is no more, which will easily be denied.

For our Moderne Divines, I do not know any that maintaine this iteration of Ordination, in case a man remove from the place where he was first ordained.

The second Argument which Reverend Mr. Hooker useth to prove that Election gives the essentials, &c. is this :

It is lawfull for the people to reject a Pastor upon just causes, and put him out of his office, ergo, it is in their power to Call him outwardly, and put him into his office. By this Rejection, he means Excommunication, for so he saith afterward, *This rejection cuts him off from being a member, &c.* So consequently it must needs make him cease from being an officer.

For that phrase of putting him into his office, if it be taken secundum quid, and as to their officer, it hath not beene opposed,

but if taken absolutely, that their *election* makes him a Minister, (as Mr. *Hooker* doth) that is it which is denied.

As for the Antecedent, whether people have power to reject, (or if you meane *Excommunication*, as it seemes that is meant) that is another question; If there be officers, and the people consent with them to cast out an officer, pertinaciously scandalous and hereticall, none doubt of that; but for the people, being but a homogeneall body, to reject, *i. e.* excommunicate an officer, will cost more to prove; had Reverend Mr. *Hooker* beene alive, and saw what work Church-members make here in *England* in very many Churches, I thinke it would have caused him to bethinke himselfe againe of the peoples power. Something we heare of, is done in a Church not farre from the place where he lived, it cannot be kept close; the light of that fire shines into *England*. For the people to withdraw their subjection from such an officer, when there are no other officers to joyne with them to excommunicate him, this is not denied, for by their subjection to him, they made him *their officer* (that was some part) so they may withdraw their subjection againe.

But for *Excommunication*, Mr. *Cotton* saith, *It is one of the highest acts of rule in the Church, and therefore cannot be performed but by some Rulers.*

Mr. *Burroughs* saith, *If the Church be without officers, they cannot doe that which belongs to officers to doe, they have no Sacraments amongst them, neither can they have any spirituall jurisdiction exercised amongst them, onely brotherly admonition, and withdrawing from such as walke disorderly, for their owne preservation.*

So then here is a way for the people to preserve themselves though they cannot excommunicate, and those Texts which Reverend Mr. *Hooker* brings, *Matth. 7. 15.* and *Phil. 3. 2.* doe not prove the Church, as a homogeneall body, to have power to excommunicate their officers, though they may prove withdrawing, as also *Rom. 16. 17.* may prove it.

For the reason of his consequence, that staple rule, *ejusdem est Instituire, destituere*, this maxime is turned every way, sometimes to prove the people may excommunicate their officers, because they doe *Instituere*.

The people in *Election* put forth no act of jurisdiction, therefore they may put forth the highest act of jurisdiction, in excommunication; that there is no act of jurisdiction in election,

Doctor

Doctor Ames acknowledgeth ; *Oves rationales possunt eligere sibi Pastorem, sicut sponsa eligit sibi sponsum, non per jurisdictionem aut Gubernationem sed potius per subjectionem.* In the answer before he affirms the same, and else-where: now what arguing is this, to ^{Bellar. e-} argue from subjection, to the highest Act of Jurisdiction? there ^{ner. 10. 2} was no Authority in election, for *electio non cogit* [yet there is ^{l. 3. c. 2.} more power seene in Civill elections, then Church-elections, as ^{S. 19.} I shall touch afterward] but in Excommunication, Authority ^{lb. S. 13.} appeares. That also is denied, that the people doe *instituere* in constituted Churches, and ordinarily what may be done in an extraordinary case is no ordinary rule.

Here the maxime is turned, to prove that they may *Instituere*, because they can *destituere*, but that will be denyed, unlesse it be in the sence before mentioned, *i. e.* in what manner, and how farre they did *instituere*, *i. e.* by a subjection to be *their Officer*, so they may with-draw their subjection from him, and not owne him to be their Officer ; but to Excommunicate is more.

Quest. But suppose this be granted, that the Fraternity cannot ex-communicate their Officer, but with-draw their subjection they may, you say, and so he ceases to be their Officer ; but what, is he now an Officer to other Churches ?

A. If the with-drawing their subjection, and rejecting be irregular, then though they make him not their Officer *de facto*, [which he is still *de jure*] yet his relation to the Church-Catholick visible doth still hold, and another Church giving him a Call, he hath then power *actu secundo* to administer the Ordinances there.

For instance, the separatists cast off him, whom before they chose for their Officer, supposing now, unlesse he will renounce his ordination he is no Minister, doth he therefore cease to be a Minister ? how busie some Congregationall Churches are in with-drawing from their Officers, it is too manifest, and many goe to the *Anabaptists*, some turne *Seekers*, and if all the Members doe thus, doe they now cease to be Ministers ?

2 But if the with-drawing be regular, the cause just, tried, &c. then that which is sufficient ground for their with-drawing from him, is just cause, why he should be excommunicated, being pertinaciously scandalous, or Hereticall, as Mr. Hooker

supposeth. If then the case of a Church be so, as they are cast by providence into some remote place, where are no Churches besides to combine with, then as their election of him, &c. [as I said before] may supply the want of ordination; so this with-drawing in such an extraordinary case may be *Analogum* to excommunication; but (say our Divines) if that Church be in combination with other Churches, as now under a *Classis*, then the people shall not need to stay there, in their with-drawing, but the case being judged and tryed by the *Classis*, they as they ordained him, when the people elected him [the people consenting] doe excommunicate him; then as a man cast out of one Church, is cast out from the Catholick Church visible; so he who is cast out from being an Officer to this Church, is cast out from being a Minister to the Church-Catholicke visible.

Burro. I-
ren. p. 50
Nort. resp.
ad Apoll.
p. 76, 78

For the other Argument, the people conveying of power to an Officer; I know of no power the people conveyes, only a designation of such a person to officiate in this or that Society; but their power they receive from Christ immediatly (as our Congregationall men affirme) and hence they act in his Name, not in the name of the Church.

5 The last answer I would give to this Proposall is this; if you conceive this to be the only way of Reformation, then you must give the Ministers strong prooffe that you may ordaine; the Ministers will as much question your power to ordaine, as you question the Bishops power; so that we take it for granted you are able to prove this, because you are so punctuall, you say, for reforming by the word. But of this practise I much doubt.

1 My ground is, because I finde not one *Iota* of any such thing in the New Testament.

Obj. *Though you doe not in the New Testament, yet in the Old Testament there is,* Numb. 8. 10.

A. That place is the only refuge, but

1 It is commonly answered, That it is no faire arguing to goe to the Old Testament for one thing we would have, and when another comes to the same Politie for an argument for their turne, now to debarre them, and tell them this is the old Politie; either leave out the Jewish Politie altogether, or else give others leave to fetch Arguments from thence, as well as your selves.

2 If

2 If you will goe to that Politie, why may I not as well prove, That the Civill Magistrate may ordaine, as well as *Moses* did *Aaron*, Levit. 8.?

3 But in that Church at that time there were Officers, *Aaron* and his sonnes, thence (if that be a rule) it must follow, that though there be Officers in a Church, yet the people may ordaine, which I am sure those Divines, who are for the peoples power in ordination, will never admit, being crosse to their owne Principles, and Scripture.

4 We finde in the eleventh verse, that after that was done, *Aaron* did wave these Levites before the Lord, so that they were not compleat till *Aaron* had done his Act; whence I remember learned Master *Cotton* (in his discourse with me) said, the peoples *χειροθεσια* there, did but answer to the peoples *χειροτονια* in the New Testament, and *Aarons* waving of them did answer to our *χειροθεσια*: this clause only I remember, but he had a larger answer, which I tooke from him in discourse, by which, I remember, he did enervate this Objection, but I lost his notes, with all my other helps, in my shipwrack.

These men call for precept and example, give you us one for this in the New Testament, for you put us to that also, we must give you them out of the New Testament; yea, I would goe further, and desire them to give me one example in the first six hundred yeares after Christ, that ever the people did ordaine their Minister; now this is strange to me, that we can finde no foot-step of any such thing in the Scripture, nor in the Ages next, and yet that we should make it so frequent, that they must ordaine most frequently; for if every particular Church be Independent (as now such a Church where I am in a small Village, where the maintenance will not keep one Minister, and therefore to be sure we cannot have more Ministers) then if the Minister remove, or dye, if there come a new Minister, the people must ever ordaine, thus it must be in most places in *England*, few will be excepted; and if every new election must have a new ordination, then it must alwayes be in the peoples power; In the Primitive times, there were Churches in Cities, and Villages, but that the Christians in Villages did ordaine their Officers, I would gladly see that proved.

Ordination in those times was carried by a continued succession, the Apostles ordained some Ministers, those ordained others,

Justin.
Mart. A.
pol. 2

thers, so downwards, but never by the people.

Bel. ener.
to. 2. l. 3.
c. 2. f. 6

Learned Dr. Ames seemes to answer this; for whereas Bel-
larmine had said, *In novo Testamento ubicunq; mentio fit manuum im-
positionis, semper ea Apostolis ceterisque Episcopis, nunquam vero plebi tri-
buitur.* The Doctor answers to this; *In Historia novi Testamenti,
exempla habemus constitutionis Ministerii, & ejusdem etiam conserva-
tionis, sed non restorationis ejus aut reformationis post generalem Apo-
stasiam; omnia igitur quæ pertinent ad plebem fidelem, in tali casu non re-
presentantur ibi certis exemplis.* However these words seeme to
carry it, as if the Doctor did hold, that the people had this
power, in a generall Apostasie, yet I question whether the
Doctor would looke upon the Churches of England now under
such a notion, neither would he deny the ordination of our
Ministers, to be valid for substance; but yet here one might
cast in something, *in times of Reformation it may be*, he saith:

1 To Reforme the Minister, is to Forme it now as it was first
formed.

But the Ministry was not at first formed by the people, ergo
the Ministry cannot be now reformed by the people.

I thinke the Major will not be denyed, for the Minor, let
any prove that. According to this some will say, We must
have Apostles, they formed the Ministers first [we speake of or-
dination] I say, *Non sequitur*, unlesse you can prove the Apostles
ordained only *quâ* Apostles; if so, I know not how those Mi-
nisters, whom the Apostles did ordaine, could ordaine others,
but to be sure they did.

2 I desire a text of Scripture that holds out this, *that the people
may ordaine in a generall Apostasie.*

3 I doubt we shall rarely finde such times, when there is a
Society of godly Christians to ordaine, but there is some
Ministers also; ordinarily there are Ministers who teach this
people.

4 It will be a question, Whether the Apostasie hath been
such as to require this, for if Baptisme was not repeated, but
was thought valid, though administred by a *Romish* Minister,
because he was set apart to the worke, and kept the essence of
the ordinance, why might not the ordination administred by
those Ministers hold as well?

2 A second ground that makes me doubt is this, it seemes
strange to me, that Christ should appoint extraordinary officers,
and

and make that a part of their work, which the people themselves may doe; *Paul* leaves *Titus* to ordaine, but what needs that? the people might well say, what need *Paul* leave *Titus* to do that, which we can doe our selves? *Frustra fit per plura*, &c. the Apostles never needed but to preach, and convert the people to the faith, when they had done so, they should have said, *we have now done our worke, brought you to be beleivers, you may now elect an Officer, and ordaine him your selves, the power is yours*, (onely here would have been some trouble about baptizing) since then I finde, that this was part of their Office, then I cannot beleeve this is the peoples worke. *Paul* might easily have left us a president in some Society of Christians, that would have quieted all our disputes.

More might be said (and is said by others) but I see our *New England* Divines do almost yeeld it, by giving power to some Ministers to ordaine in other Congregations.

Since nothing can be drawn from Scripture, by precept, or example to prove this, hence some would draw it out by Argument.

Those who can do the greater, may doe the lesse.

The people can doe the greater, viz. *elect*.

Ergo,

The minor is as freely denied, as it is affirmed, *election* is not the greater, Scripture-light being judge. That was the designe I doubt of making *Ordination* but an *Adjunct*, for so indeed it would easily be granted, if election gives the essence, and this only be an adjunct, the people may well ordaine; Yea, and in a Church, where there are Officers to Ordaine, I know not why they, who give the *essence* may not give the *adjunct*, why should an adjunct be proper to the Officers only in that Church, when the essence doth not belong to them, further then as members, they joine with the people? for so it seemes the Officers elect as members, and if you doe elect only as members, why should you not also ordaine as members? for election is the greater, this the lesse.

The other Argument is, the people are the *first subject of the power of the keyes*. *Ergo*: But this is not easily yeelded; it was a witty speech of him, *Let the Elders keep the keyes, and the people the key-clog*; it proves so too often. What our Divines have said about it is well knowne. I thinke they have battered this notion pretty well.

Augustine sometime is quoted for this opinion, but I am confident it was never in *Augustines* thoughts; In *Evan. Joan. Tract. 50. Tract. 124*. I am mistaken, if he be not rather for the Catholick Church

Mr. N. p.
Omnis
questio non
per aliud
quod queri-
tur habebit
resolutionem
nec
ambiguitas
per ambiguitatem,
sed ex claris
manifestis,
&c. Irena
l. 2. c. 10.

by his words especially in the latter place quoted, not mentioning what other Divines have spoken, there are two or three things that have made me doubt of this, so as I never did throughly close with this notion, when I was but a private member of a Church.

1. That which is the *primum subiectum*, is the *proprium subiectum*: none doubt of this, *Proprium subiectum est quod cum suo accidente reciprocatur. Animal est proprium subiectum sensus, hominis*, hence we say, *omnis homo est risibilis, & omne risibile est homo*, this is *Axioma καὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*: but every Axiome that is *καὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* doth include in it the rule *κατὰ παντός*, where the predicate is true *de omni subiecto, omni loco, omni tempore*, this is true of *animal & sensus*. So it must be true of the power of the keyes and the Fraternity, *Omni tempore*; but if we finde the power of the keyes exercised before there was a Fraternity, then there was some other subject before the Fraternity; When *Paul* came to *Corinth*, he preached *Authoritative*, *Ergo* there was the power of the keyes in some subject, but the Fraternity was *Non-ens* at this time, how then could they be the subject?

Those, who are the effect of the power of the keyes, are not the first subject, that is clear.

But the Fraternity is the effect; it was so in all the Churches, which the Apostles gathered, and is indeed to this day. This was one Argument troubled me.

So that which is *primum*, is *immediatum subiectum*: but how can this be? since *Mediantibus Apostolis*, and so now *Mediantibus Ministris* the Fraternity is made: The elector is before the elected: its true of Christ, who elected the Apostles, and gave to them the keyes, from whom by a continued succession of Ministers still the Fraternity was made; but had not the power of the keyes had some effect, there had not been a Fraternity to choose an Officer: though they are now in time before him, whom they now elect, yet they were not before him or them [*quâ fratres*] who by the power of the keyes in the ministry made them capable to choose an Officer; therefore the power of the keyes was in some subject before them.

Besides election is no part of the power of the keyes, therefore to argue, the people elect, *ergo* they are the first subject, &c. is *fallacia Kecker. non causa pro causa* [*causa nomen hic usurpatur pro quo vis argumenti*]. taking that to be a part of the power which is not.

1. c. 20.

2 If so, that which is *primum, est absolutum subiectum, cui accidens absolutè sine ulla limitatione partis inhaeret: sic animal est absolutum*

absolutum subiectum sensus, adeoque visus & auditus; ideoque tantum animal dicitur rectè videre & audire: oculus non videt propriè, quia non est Animal: quando ergo oculus dicitur videre, id non subiectivè intelligendum est, sed instrumentaliter, quod animal videat per oculum. To apply this to our case, the power of the keyes is in the whole body, so the power of preaching &c. there is the power *subjectivè & propriè*; so that if we aske who preached to day, we must answer, properly and subjectively the people preached, but instrumentally only the Pastor preached, so for the administration of the Sacraments, this is very harsh; hence againe, because *animal videt*, if a man dye, or beast, the eye which was the instrument of seeing, excepting it may be the dissipation of the animal spirits, else as an Organ, it remains intire in the coates, humors and optick nerves, but yet it sees not.

So it seemes a Minister, in case his body, the people, should dye, he being but the instrument of their preaching, he can preach no more: this is strange; how doe they preach out of their own bodies ordinarily? If the men dye, and only women and children be left, the officer hath lost his preaching, and cannot preach to them authoritatively, because the Fraternity, in whom the power was *subjectivè*, is dead.

3 I have observed, that seven have been esteemed enough to make a Church; suppose now one of these should offend another of the seven, he must deale with him, if he will not heare, he must take two more, here are four of the seven, if he will not hear them, *tell the Church*, that is, the three left, the rest are parties.

Some to prove that *Mat. 16. To thee I give the Keyes*, must be meant the Fraternity, say, that *To Thee*, here is the same with *Mat. 18.*

But this is somewhat doubted, for that in *Mat. 18.* may well be meant of a particular Church, but in this place the Church must be meant of the Catholike visible Church: for it must be such a Church as must not faile.

But particular Churches may, this or that particular Church I meane.

2 But suppose it be so, yet why must that *Mat. 18.* be meant only of the Fraternity? *Tell the Church*, i. e. the Fraternity, if hee will not heare the Church, i. e. the Fraternity, where are the Officers, are they no body? one in *New England* would needs know of me, why they should tell the Ministers of it, when as it is, *Tell the Church*, not the Ministers? this indeed would confirme it, and here we should have brave order,

The visible
Church
is here
meant
saith Mr.
Hooker Sur.
P. 278.

Vind. vin.
p.6.

Mr. *Cawdry* upon that Text seemes to have a good Argument, "since that the Kingdome of Heaven is there meant the Church, the "keyes are given to *Peter* as distinguished from the Church; It is "not a reasonable construction (saith he) of the Text to say, I give to "thee the keyes of the Kingdome of Heaven, that is, of the Church, "and to mean, I give to the Church the keyes of the Church; whence "he concludes, they were given to *Peter*, and so to the Officers for "the Church, as the keyes are given to the Steward for the family. This Argument is worth the Answering.

Object. The strongest Objection to mee is this, the first subject takes up the whole adjunct, for there is a reciprocation; therefore the Presbytery cannot be the first subject, for the keyes are not reciprocated with them; instance is given in Election, Admission of Members, Discipline, which cannot be performed without the Fraternity.

Answer. If reciprocation be so required, &c. then this will as well deny the people to bee first subject, for reciprocation cannot bee with them; for Preaching, Administration of Sacraments, Government &c. to be sure the people cannot doe; there will be more said for the Presbytery; they actually *choose*, they actually *admit*, they actually *govern* and exercise discipline, they have both the Power and the Act: but for the people they cannot doe any Act which belongs to the Officer, nor have so much as the power of it: we may see by this, where the power will chiefly reside: to say, the Fraternity, though they have not official power, yet they have power to chuse an Officer, and so consequently, they are the first subject, this is very unsatisfactory, to have the Adjunct reciprocated at the second hand, it being denied before that they have the Adjunct; the reciprocation betweene *homo & animal risibile* is not at second hand

2 This doth not at all shake me but I stand on my ground still, conceiving, that the *Church organized is the first subject of the power of the Keyes*, not that I make the people equall sharers in the power of the keyes with the Officers, but what I mean I shall expresse afterwards.

3 Yet am I not satisfied (nor could ever be) that whatever belongs to the Church must needs be included in the power of the keyes; Election, I look at it only as *Potestas circa claves*, but not to be a power of them.

The Text tells us the use of them, what thou *bindest*, what thou *loosest*, to bind and to loose is the use of them: but what is this to the election of an Officer? when as hee may refuse their Call, or the Call of

of any Church? how doe they loose him or bind him? *Electio non cogit.*

For the other two things, *Admission*, and *Discipline*: Those Divines, who say, *that Baptisme makes men Members of the Church*, if they can prove this strongly, they will carry away the former, *scil.* that the people have nothing to do in Admission of members, for baptisme makes members; now to this I cannot yet fully agree, there might be much said for the contrary. I conceive the *New England* Divines have spoken well to this, besides the opinion of *M. Cartwright*, and *Ames*, who joyn with them. Ans^r to 32.
Qu. p. 12.

So, those Divines who affirme the Presbytery may excommunicate, *penitente plebe*, if they can prove it strongly, they will carry away the latter, and then indeed its cleare, the people have no interest in the power of the keyes; but this neither can be admitted, and the streame of Divines oppose this:

But though I yeeld the Ministry cannot orderly doe these things without the people, yet I deny the people do these things in the same way and order, that the Ministry doth them: And therefore *Quere*, Whether it be proper to say, the people hath any power of the keyes?

For Admissions, this will be more troublesome, because we finde no examples of the Churches where the people did shew their power in Admissions: for that act of *Paul*, *Act* 9. 26, 27. Whether it be sufficient to prove it, I leave it to consideration; they did not admit, why? *they were afraid of him*, the text saith, being a persecutor, then no wonder the Apostles, as well as the people, were afraid of him; the 27 verse saith, *Barnabas* carried *Paul* to the *Apostles*, not to the people, which would imply, the Apostles carryed the stroke in Admissions.

Further to search into this, let us suppose the Ministry of the Church of *Corinth* preach, an Infidell heare them, the man is so far convinced of the vanity of his Heathenism, and danger of his sinful lusts he wallowed in, and so far convinced of the necessity of that Doctrine which he heares, that he renounces his Idols, reforms his conversation, &c. now he comes to the Ministers to signifie what is done, and what he desires, to be received into the Church, and be baptized, being willing to give up himselfe to that doctrine: the Ministry [instrumentally] hath wrought this; now what power hath the people here to hinder this man? is it at their choyce whether they will admit him or no? when the Officers see what effect the preaching hath had, here being a *Disciple* made, shal they be hindred from baptizing him? what power

Aug. Con.
fel. 1. 8. c. 2.

have the people here ? what shall they goe first and examine him ? I know not where examination was ever given to the people ; must he make his profession of faith before all the Church, as *Victorinus* that brave *Rhetorician* ? we find it was not their course to doe so with all those whom they admitted, for many did onely to the *Presbyters* : This power indeed the brethren have, that if any know this man to live in a known way of wickednesse, that cannot possibly stand with any hopes of faith, to come and give in witness against such a person to the Officers: I suppose this will be yeilded, and the Officers would not now baptize him. But what power more they have, I know not; they see his conversation, and can testifie of that, but it were strange that it should be left to the peoples choyce, whether they will admit a man or not, when the word hath had so much power, and they cannot bring in sufficient objections to the contrary. Put case the major part of the members of the Church had drunk in some errors [that a major part may do so, hath been proved in our time] and they will not give their consent to the admission of the man, if they finde him not of their opinion [commonly those who have drunke in error, use to look untowardly upon those who are contrary] now the Ministers have no power to admit this man, nor baptize him, though they see he hath right to it. But I leave that.

For Discipline, I conceive *renitente plebe*, the Eldership should not excommunicate: it is in vaine to doe so indeed, if the people will hold communion: but yet this doth not argue that the people doe here act, as doth the Eldership ; For the Eldership doth it *Authoritative*, the people by a *popular consenting* with the Officers, that the person bee excommunicate: the people doe act here *obedientially* to their Officers, therefore a vaste difference is betweene them. I remember a passage of Mr. *Hookers* in the Assembly of Divines ; *When a case is brought to the Elders, the Elders having searched all things to the bottome, now the Elders bring the case to the Fraternity, and lay it down clear before them, this is the case, and this ought to be done, now (said he) the people are bound to obey us, as well as when wee preach.* And it is cleare, for as in preaching they discover the minde of God, so in this sentence they declare the same concerning this act. 2 Cor. 10. 6. *We have in readinesse to revenge all disobedience, when your obedience is fulfilled.* Mr. Cotton saith, the Apostles revenge of disobedience by way of reproofe in preaching, doth not follow the peoples obedience, but proceedeth, whether the people obey or not; it was therefore their revenge by way of censure in Discipline,

Keyes 15

“pline, which they had in readines, when the obedience of the Church
 “is fulfilled in discerning and approving the equity of the Censure,
 “which the Apostle, or Elders have declared to them from the
 “word.

That phrase, *discerning and approving of the equity*, needs a little more clearing; but I leave them: However this Reverend Divine seems to refer that obedience unto *the wil of Christ*, by the words going before his exposition, yet that hinders not, but it may in some sence be applyed to their officers [who also obey Christ] for that phrase is not strange, to have people obey their officers, *Heb. 13. 17. Obey your Rulers*, there may be some thing in it, not only obey your Teachers, but Rulers; when they rule, as when they preach. Mr. *Norton* expressing, as I conceive, how the brethren act with the Eldership [for so I remember it was in his Tables which I had, & had some thoughts to have Printed them, but in that great fire, when *Colchester* was besiedged (having lent them to a friend) they were burnt, as I heare) *Partes judicii in rebus jurisdictionis, quales sunt fratrum examinatio, dijudicatio & sententia Causæ per modum obedientie, Presbyterio debite. 2 Cor. 10. 16. Cap. 2. 9.*

Resp. ad
 Apol. p. 67.

Mr. *Gillespie*, also besides his own opinion giveth reasons, and al-
 “ledgeth divers Divines, who interpret this place of Church censures: &
 “these words, *when your obedience is fulfilled*, gives him one ground
 “for his interpretation: for as *Estius* and *Novarinus* explain the Apo-
 “stles reason, it is in vain to excommunicate all such as are worthy of
 “excommunication, when there is a generall renitency in the Church:
 but still we observe the people act obedientially to their officers, that they did not at that time, was their fault.

Aar. rod. p:
 289, &c.

Besides, if excommunication be the highest act of Rule, and therefore cannot be performed where Rulers are not, as saith Mr. *Cotton*: and if a homogeneall body can expresse no spirituall Jurisdiction, but onely withdraw, as saith Master *Burroughs*, then the people having Rulers, are not now made Rulers, nor have the power of jurisdiction; there is indeed jurisdiction exercised among them by reason of their Rulers, to whom they consent and obey.

Government is proper to the Presbytery, saith acute Mr. *Norton*,
 and shewes under seven particulars how the Presbyters governe in
 Church affairs, and so in this exercise of Discipline: if so, then the peo-
 ple are governed in this act; how then doth a people governed, act in
 reference to Rulers governing, but by way of obedience? So
 that to mee there appears a yaste difference betweene the power
 of

Resp. ad
 Apol. p. 65:
 67:

of Discipline, as it is in the hands of the Presbytery, and as in the hands of the people, though the Ministers cannot excommunicate without the people.

I speake a few words to this point here, because I would spare the labour in another place.

As for the Analogy drawne from the *civill power*, *the people are the first subject of civill power*; Ergo the *Fraternity is the first subject of Church power*; For the Antecedent I leave that, but the consequence I should deny, there is a great disproportion.

First, The People are not the effect of their Magistrates, or follow after them (as the people of *Israel* were not of *Saul*) but the Fraternity, *quâ sic*, is the effect of the Ministry: The Apostles converted, and after them the Ministers converted; Converting is but to make the people such, for whom the power of the keyes is given.

Secondly, There is some thing in this; In Corporations, if the people have elected a man to be an Alderman, or Mayor, if he refuse it, there is a Fine set upon him; some have been fined 20*li*. some more according as the Corporations are: but if the body of the people will choose an Officer, and he will refuse it, what then? I know no kind of Church act that reaches him: this shewes there is something more in civill then Church power.

Thirdly, The people do give to their Magistrates a power to make Lawes, &c. for their good; but the Church gives no power into the hands of her Ministers, but they have all their power immediately from Christ.

Fourthly, Hence the people may limit their people, or enlarge it: But the people cannot limit, nor enlarge the power the Ministers have.

Fifthly, We see the Magistrates Act in the name of the people [*in the name of the Commonwealth of England*] but Ministers doe not act in the name of the Church, but Christ; as saith Mr. Burroughs and Mr. Norton before quoted.

More might be produced, but I content my selfe with these; and though that maxime be received, *Salus populi, Suprema lex*, yet it hinders not but the people may save themselves, though they be not the first subject of the keyes. Mr. Richardson, whom Dr. Ames and Mr. Hooker, honoured much, and follow much, placeth the power of binding, and loosing in the Governours, not in the people.

Manuscr:
Tables.

This discourse I have runne into by answering to the first Proposall, which

which being the maine, I have bestowed more lines about it; the rest I shall run over quickly. Come we now to the second.

The second Proposall may be this; *Wee would have an explicate Covenant in every particular Church, this we judge to be the forme of a Church, and we cannot joyne with a Church without it.*

A. Many people have taken up this by the end, a *Covenant is the forme of a Church*, understanding it of an *explicate Covenant*, but they know not what a *Forme* is; if they did, they would be more wary then they are. But let us heare what Congregational men say, from whom you take up this word.

1 Mr. *Hooker* saith, an *implicite Covenant* preserves the true nature of the true Church, &c. and an *implicite Covenant* is, when in their practise they doe that, whereby they make themselves ingaged to walke in such a society, according to such rules of government, which are exercised amongst them, and so submit themselves thereunto, but doe not make any verball profession thereof. Thus the people in the Parishes in *England*, when there is a Minister put upon them by the Patron, or Bishop, they constantly hold them to the fellowship of the people in such a place, attend all the Ordinances there used, and the Dispensations of the Minister so imposed upon them, &c. by such actions, they declare that by their practises, which others hold forth by publick profession; thus farre Mr. *Hooker*, so Mr. *Norton*, Resp. ad Apollon. p. 22. 28. so the Confession of Church Disc. by the Synod of *New England*.

2 You have a Nationall Covenant, a solemne one, I thinke it is strong enough if you observe it well: there is that which answers the Covenants you finde made in Scripture.

To say, by that we are made a Nationall Church; this were very silly, yet I thinke there may be so much said for a Nationall Church that will not readily be answered. But suppose the Churches in *New England* [which God forbid] should decline, &c. If the *Generall Court* should make such a Covenant to passe through all the Churches in the Colony, would it make a Nationall Church? they would conceive their Churches still to be Congregational.

3 I make no doubt but you should have found (if you had but a little patience) that when the Ministers had come to set up Discipline, they would have brought their people under

The second Proposall. No Congregational Divine dares put the forme of a Church in the explicate of the Covenant, but these doe. Survey, part first, p. 47, 48.

Read his
first chap-
ter, in some
Churches
he saith,
there was
Solemnis
protestatio
subjectionis,
sub disci-
plinâ Eccle-
siasticâ. p. 13.

some stricter tye, to subject to Church Discipline, I have heard some speake of it; they would have found it too laxe, that implicite consent to make people put in execution that, *Matth. 18. 15, 16, &c.* as some have found before them; and it was not without some cause that *Apollonius* sets downe that, as one thing that is required of a Church-Member, and whom they will admit to the Lords Supper, *That he shall promise to subject himselfe to Discipline*; he tells us, thus it was concluded upon in severall Synods, he mentions six Synods. I have found the experience of this so already, that I should thinke my selfe in a poore case to exercise Discipline without it; the people feele some stricter tye upon their spirits, and I thanke God I have knowne good effects by it.

4 If you will needs goe closer doe, you may enter into a close Covenant, as did those worthy Christians in *Wetherfeld*, in that old Prophets dayes, who sets downe their Covenant in his seven Treatises; but they did not separate as you doe. Excell those Christians if you can.

The third
Proposall.

The third Proposall; *We would have no Church-Members but visible Saints.*

A. This were a thing to be wished indeed, and that I beleeve which the Ministers would be glad, if they could attaine it; I gave you instances before out of their Bookes, and it is that which they would put forth their power to effect, so farre as the state of the Kingdome is capable of, if once they were invested with power to exercise Discipline; and indeed as the condition of *England* stands, there is need of a Civill Power to back them; the case is not now, as in the Primitive times.

2 You must put a difference between Churches new erecting, and these in *England*, which have been Churches so long; when I raise a house new from the ground, I may then doe as I please, but if I be mending of an old house, I must doe as well as I can, repaire by degrees.

3 What would you have done with all the rest, Excommunicate them? that's a peece of work indeed; and besides, there is a great deale of worke to doe before we come to that, it may be many will not be found contumacious; nay you see, they doe separate them from the Lords Supper, and divers begin to looke something more narrowly to baptisme.

4 How many corrupt Members doe you finde in the Church of

of *Corinth* and *Galatia*? for the latter, what a change was there made in their affections towards *Paul*? how close did they cleave to those *Judaizing* Zelots? who turned them away almost to another Gospel, inſomuch that though *Paul* wiſhed thoſe Seducers were cut off, *Gal.* 5. 12. i. e. by Excommunication, yet he did not peremptorily command it, *renitente Eccleſiâ*. The Church of *Corinth* had drunke in vile errors, the women it ſhould ſeeme (diſorderly) would ſpeake in the Church; and for Members, *2 Cor.* 12. 20, 21. you may conceive by the ſins there mentioned, what they were many of them, *Ch.* 13. 2. *Paul* indeed ſaith, he wil not ſpare them. This place, *Maſter Gillespie* thinkes gives light to, *Ch.* 10. & 6. *When your obedience is fulfilled*; our Miniſters debarreſuch from the Supper.

5 If you did not thus ſeparate from them, they might doe more towards the reforming of their Congregations, but you weaken their hands, as I ſhall touch hereafter.

6 But what doe you meane by *viſible Saints*, what is required, or how would you judge of one? what, would you have them reall Saints? I ſuppoſe you doe not thinke ſo, croſſe to the texts, the *Floore*, the *Drag-net*, &c. what would you have ſuch, as by the exacteſt ſcrutiny that can be made, we may judge to be Saints really? I deſire your Texts for this. Did the Apoſtles doe thus when they baptiſed any? ſurely they muſt either judge by an Apoſtolicall Spirit, but we ſee they were miſtaken if they did ſo; or elſe they muſt ſtay a good while and try men, winter them, and ſummer them (as we ſay) before they did judge of their Saint-ſhip; but this they did not doe, they baptiſed them quickly; ſuch Members as the Apoſtles admitted, we may, or elſe give us texts to the contrary. I have touched this in another Tract, deſiring, that thoſe who are for ſuch ſtriſtneſſe in Members, would give us their grounds; remember Doctor *Ames*, *Falſum eſt internas virtutes a nobis requiri, ut aliquis ſit in Eccleſiâ quoad viſibilem ejus ſtatum*.

The fourth Propoſall; *We would have power in admiſſion of Members, and in Excommunication.*

Anſ. For admiſſion of Members:

1 When you bring prooſe out of the Word, what power Church-Members have exerciſed in admiſſion of Members, I hope you ſhall finde none ſhall debarre you from having that power.

Gilleſp.
Aar. rod.
287.

Aar. rod.
289.

The Church
after
took more
time, but
they did
not come
to that ex-
act ſcru-
tiny, &c.
Bell. ener.
to. 2. l. 2.
c. 1. f. 5

2 When there are Members to be admitted, who never were Church-Members, you shall finde it granted, but that is not our case here; if you would have power in admission to Sacraments, you have that liberty given you, to bring in Testimonie for, or against; and if you bring in sufficient proofes against persons, you shall finde they shall not be admitted; thus must you doe in any Church what-ever. If any good Christian shall come, and give in testimony for another, the Minister will gladly receive it.

For *Excommunication*, the Presbyteriall Ministers will not Excommunicate without the peoples consent; you shall have liberty [first asking leave of the Minister, who is the Ruler, and Mouth of the Congregation] to propound any question soberly, and gravely, which you would have cleared, before you manifest your consent, if there be any thing darke to you, that so you may clearly obey them [for I hope you doe not looke to be equall with Officers in this Act] and I hope this is more then ever you saw practised in old times. Now that the Ministers will not Act against the people [I suppose they meane the Body of the People, for if they meane, unlesse all the people consent, I would not consent to the Presbyteriall Ministers in this, that some few particular persons, guilty it may be themselves in some degree, shall obstruct the sentence, when the sounder and major part of the Church consents] heare their owne words.

Load. vindic. p. 25 In the great Censure of Excommunication, we say, That it ought not to be executed against the consent of that particular Congregation, to which the party to be Excommunicated belongs; this is full.

The fifth Propof. The fifth Propofall; We would have the liberty to Prophefie, as 1 Cor. 14. &c.

A. What doe you meane by Prophefying, or Prophets? If you meane such Prophets as we finde in 1 Cor. 14. &c. 12. &c. you have two things to prove:

1. That these were Prophets in no Office.

Rutherf. Div. right, presbyt. p. 271. Gillesp. Mil. c. 5 2 That the gift of Prophefying there mentioned was ordinary, and perpetuall; of the Presbyteriall Divines you have two men [there may be more for ought I know] to grapple with, that have strongly debated this question, and have answered all that is brought. Of the Congregationall Divines I finde two men of no small worth, who though in some extraordinary

nary

nary case in places where Ministers are not to be had, if there be any able Christian fit to speake, they would grant such a liberty in a regular way; but for the places you bring to prove that it is an Ordinance of Christ for private members to prophesie, they oppose this: Mr. Cotton saith, *That place 1 Cor. 14. 31. doth not speake of ordinary private members, but of men furnished with extraordinary gifts, he proves it afterward.* Mr. Norton saith, *Propheſie, concerning which Paul ſpeaks, 1 Cor. 14. is not to be understood of any ordinary and perpetuall gift whatever, much leſſe of an ordinary and perpetuall gift of private brethren, and that he proves.* Keys 20.
Resp. ad
Apol. p.
125.

I intend not to lanch forth into this Controverſie, for others have answered all thoſe arguments that are brought; but let me ſay this, When I conſidered theſe places, 1 Cor. 12. 28. God hath ſet ſome in the Church, firſt Apoſtles, ſecondarily Prophets, thirdly Teachers. The 29. verſe, *Are all Apoſtles? are all Prophets? are all Teachers?* In the ſame order he reckons them. So Ephes. 4. 11. *He gave ſome Apoſtles, ſome Prophets, &c.* So Act. 13. 1. *There was in the Church at Antioch certaine Prophets and Teachers, as Barnabas, &c.* Prophets have ever their place next Apoſtles, and are ranked before Teachers; theſe texts are to me ſtrong proofes, that theſe Prophets were no ſuch private men as curs, nor their gifts ordinary; thoſe that would be ſuch muſt needs take place of their officers, you are before them, for theſe Prophets are alwayes placed before ordinary officers. That 1 Cor. 13. 2. and 14. v. 22. 30. theſe places wel conſidered will prove it was no ordinary gift.

But I would leave that way of arguing? and would argue againſt it from what I have obſerved about it.

1. It is needleſſe, what need is there of it? I have obſerved that the ordinary time when theſe Prophets goe to worke, is after the Miniſters have done preaching: what need is there of theſe men now to goe to Propheſying? why doe they not goe home and meditate upon the Sermons they have heard, and call them over in their families? but (forſooth) now the brethren muſt goe to Propheſie.

2. It is not onely needleſſe, but it is dangerous, Satan hath a deſigne in it.

First, to undermine the power of the word preached, theſe perſons who have heard two Sermons before, run now to Pro-

Tertul.
hath an
observati-
on of the
hereticks
then,
Nec suis
praesidiis
reverenti-
am nove-
runt & hoc
est quod
schismata
apud here-
ticos fere
non sunt;
quia cum
sint, non
apparent
schismata.
Præscrip.
adv. Hæret.
This is
very true
of these
kinde of
people, so
far as I
have ob-
served
among
most of
them.

phesying, where is the word the people heard before? this fine thing hath put out that.

Secondly, his designe is to blast the *Ministers*, for I have observed, *Ministers*, nor their preaching is in any request with this generation, and the people are more taken with their prophesying, being a pretty new conceit, then they are with their officers preaching; be it never so solid.

A neare friend of mine (yet living) a Divine well knowne travelling into *Germany*, coming home in *Holland* he went to heare Mr. *Ainsworth*, who preached a very strong Sermon (the person was able to judge) while Mr. *Ainsworth* was preaching, my friend observed the carriage of his members, it was, he thought, not becoming the Ordinance (I will not write all he told me, lest I should be thought to write out of malice) very dull and dead that was the fairest; when Mr. *Ainsworth* had done, they now were to prophesie; my friend said he observed, that those, who sate so dully and unreverently, while their Pastor was preaching very excellently, now their turne came to prophesie, rose up, and were so perke and lively, that he could but note their carriage. The word preached by officers, though never so able, doth little good, where this trade is driven.

3. I have observed, order with peace and unity, is seldome or never kept, where these persons flourish: one thinkes his parts are as good as his brothers; this man he carps, and findes fault with his brothers doctrine; then come differences in, and heart-burnings; this man would be thought to be the chiefe, and most called upon to exercise, another likes not that, jangling, discord, breaches, I have knowne to be the fruit of this good work.

4. I have rarely knowne any of these persons that were humble men: the bones of pride, and selfe-conceitednesse have stucke out shamefully in the chiefe of those, whom I have knowne; what others are, whom I have not knowne, I cannot tell, but the most gracious, favoury, humble persons that I have knowne, though as able as those who are so forward, yet they cannot be brought to this practice, but content themselves in improving what talents they have otherwise.

5. I doe not finde private men to be so able, as these suppose themselves to be; some particular persons, Christians of good

experience, and ripe understandings, and some that are scholars may be able to speake to some points very well; but most what our Prophets deliver, either vile errours, as I have knowne, or else wrong the Scriptures very grossly many times: This man One of late was handling that Text of *Cornelius*, *Act. 10.* that he was a devout man, prayed, gave almes, &c. he cast this glosse upon it, that *Cornelius* was but as our devout Papists, that use also to pray, and give almes; this is strange that *Cornelius* was no other then such a one, doth the Scripture set such commendations upon such a person? I doubt the man did not well know what it was to be devout in Scripture account; the next words, *fearing God*, might have helped him to understand what manner of one he was. Being at London within lesse then a yeare, I heard there was a meeting of Christians, and the brethren were to prophesie, and it seems it was their manner to speak *ex tempore* after the first had spoken; I suppose they would imitate that text, *1 Cor. 14. 30.* *If any thing be revealed to another that sitteth by, &c.* I had no great stomacke to goe, yet I thought I would go hear, supposing that these persons who cry up *propheying*, had something more excellent then other Ministers, especially being such adversaries to Black-coats: The text was *1 Thes. 5. Quench not the Spirit*; the next words, *Despise not propheying*, were brought in be sure, and charged home, that people should observe that, as one way of *quenching the Spirit*, I beleve they spake *ex tempore*: *Learning*, and *Ordination* they were cryed downe; the glorious new lights brought in by the *illiterate* men were cryed up; but such a messe I had, that should our poore Country Black-coats prophesie no better, we should teach our people to *despise propheying*.

These things I have observed in this new invented Ordinance: the summe is, when you bring us the men that are qualified for such a worke (such as that worthy and honourable man Mr. *Winthrop*, who was a solid man, a good schollar, and naturall Philosopher, fitted to speake excellently, and did sometimes, before Mr. *Cotton* went over to *New England*, when the officers desired him, but I never heard whether he did, after Mr. *Cotton* came) and can prove those texts to be meant of ordinary gifts, and the Prophets to be persons out of office, then we shall give you leave to Propheie, but not after other Sermons preached by your officers.

The

The last
propofall.

The last propofall is this, *Wee would have liberty of Conscience.*

Iren.p.30.

Ans. Mr. Burroughs saith, *The Devill uses to take sanctuary in conscience, hoping there men will be tender; but enquiry is to be made, whether he be indeed got in there, or in some other roome of the soule. What that worthy man hath spoken to this point, I refer the Reader to Chap. 6. of his Irenicum.*

Because conscience is so often pleaded, and made the *Asylum* for every opinionist, let us search when a man may be judged by Christian rules to be swayed by conscience.

First, I would looke that such a man be one, that according to the best observation that can be made of him, hath a renewed conscience: I must finde him to be *uniforme*, else I weigh not what he saith about his conscience. There will be infirmities, but then they are but infirmities, and those truly lamented.

Though a man have a renewed conscience, yet I will not say that a true renewed conscience is the cause why he maintains such an opinion, he may not be rightly conscientious in that.

Posito ab-
stracto &
concreto
non statim
ponitur
modus a-
gendi.

Secondly, such a one is ready to give an account of his conscience if you call him to it, if he will not give me a reason what moves his conscience, I regard him no more: Conscience is but a Deputy, it cannot make Lawes, but they are made before.

Thirdly, such a man hath used all means, the best means he can, to find out Gods mind, prayer, reading, conferring with the ablest Saints, and such as have most skill to guide; yea, prayer and fasting, any way to finde out the truth his conscience is troubled about: If he hath not used the best, and all means, I weigh not his plea of conscience.

Fourthly, if after searching he cannot yet come to see what the streame of holy and learned men doe hold and practise, but must differ from them, it will be a trouble and grieve to his spirit, that he should differ from them, fearing lest God should hide it from him, seeing others how holy and able they are, and therefore thinking they may know more of Gods minde, then he doth.

Fifthly, such a man will walke very humbly and respectfully towards those men, from whom he differs, being he knowes
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so holy and able, let us heare Mr. Burroughs speake : But you will say, every man pleads conscience ; how shall we know whether it be the stoutnesse of his heart, or the tendernesse of his conscience ? Thus, if this man behaveth himselfe humbly, and the rather humbly in all other things, because he cannot see what his Brother doth in such and such particulars, and so is in danger to be an offence to his Brother, and therefore his soule is humbled, this is a good witnesse that it is meere conscience, and not stoutnesse that makes him differ : But now, if his behaviour be high, and proud, when he differeth from his brother, he doth not take it to be an affliction to him, that he cannot see what his brother doth, but censureth him, and thinks that it is either through his weaknesse, or through his wilfulnesse that he will not see, and so carries himselfe high, and proudly before his brother, this witnesseth to his face that it is stubbornnesse, and singularity. Nay, then Mr. Burroughs, you have scarce left ten conscientious Separatists in England, the former part of this I have not seen in any, the latter I have seen enough.

6 A man truly conscientious, &c. in those points where he doth agree with other learned and holy men, will there cleave close to them, in opposing also all other points which he judgeth to be false ; he will not be a slye enemy, or scoffer of such, and a conniver at, and a favourer of other Sects and Opinions, which his heart tells him are not sound, or at least he doubts much of them.

Now the grounds of all these severall heads in the trial of him, who differs purely out of conscience, are these :

1. Because such a conscience in the very formall notion of it carrieth this, viz. this mans heart is awed, and carried away with the Majesty, and Authority of God and his Truth ; it argueth much grace, if one takes it in the true notion, then I am sure such a heart will doe all these things.

2 Such a man is awed with all truths, and therefore the command of unity, to be all of one minde, to speake the same things ; these have such a power on his spirit, as it puts him upon all these.

3 Such a man considers that to be an offence to other godly Christians, from whom he differs, is a thing that he had need take heed of ; also a feare of weakning the worke of God in the place where he lives.

4 Such a one knowes the vilenesse of his owne heart, and is prying into his own weaknesse, others he can see more holy and

able

Exposit.
Hos. c. 5.
ver. 5. p.

395.

Ephes. 4. 3.
Phil. 2. 2.
1 Cor. 1. 10

able then himselfe, and hence he feares himselfe; and conceives such men, being so holy and neare to God, I feare he may reveale that to them, which he conceals from me.

Now then, if you can bring us men who expresse all these, and walke truly by these rules, you shall not need to goe to the State, to get an *Act for Toleration of tender consciences*, for I doubt not but Churches will be very tender of such; God seldome leaves these to drink in any vile error, if for a time they be mis-lead, he will discover his minde to them ere long, I am assured. But alas, how farre are our people from these things? I doe not rehearse them over againe, but either let these be disproved to be no rules to judge by, or if they be, there are not ten (as I said) of such scarce to be found in *England*, who separate from the Ministry, and Churches, and have betaken themselves to their private houses; yea, if we goe to our Congregational Churches, and examine these, who plead for Liberty of Conscience, we shall hardly finde these Rules observed. The summe is, you see, if indeed you be right conscientious men, and lead by a pure Conscience in the points wherein you differ, you shall have that liberty that Christ would have allowed you, and none will Domineere over your Consciences.

I know of nothing more can be alledged, but I thinke I have taken in all that is brought against the Ministry, and Churches. It may be, some would be apt to cast in this, *That the Ministers are no friends to the State, ergo, &c.*

I shall not stay to give any answer to this more then thus:

1 The Separatists were, before this Government was erected, to be sure the leaven of all was layed, if not all actually separated.

2 Where there are Ministers, who are friends to the State, it is all one, for they separate for all that.

3 Matters of State differ from the Church matters, and they were also very intricate and darke, especially as some conceive, the Covenant and Protestation having been taken before, therefore in intricate things more time should have been given, till you had seene God tying a knot upon things.

4 I know that many Ministers had not hung off so from the State, but that they saw such Separatists to be wincked at, they thought too much,

Obj. But you will say, Grant all this, that their grounds are insufficient, why cannot you goe on in the worke of Reformation, set up Discipline, &c. and let these alone? how doe these binder your worke from going on comfortably?

Ans. If their grounds be insufficient, then why doe they not Schisme come backe againe to the Churches from which they have departed? but before I give the answer, let these things be observed.

1 Few of these, who have any true good in them, but must have acknowledged they have received it from the Ministers, yea, in those times, when there was much more corruption in the Churches then now.

2 Since they have left their Ministers they have got nothing; many lost the favour once they had, and some their comforts that were true, and some of these I know have come home againe; generally they run out of one errour into another, that is their thriving.

3 I never heard of one true Convert that was ever brought home to God amongst them all; indeed the Principles they maintaine, will not stand with sound conversion; for no Law must be to awaken men, and shew them their vile condition naturally, worke of faith is easie; teach no duty, but all Christ, [as if men could truly teach Christ, and no duty] these things speake enough against them.

Irena saith, Nulla ab eis tanta fieri potest correctio, quanta est Schismatis perniciēs, l. 4 c. 26. So our Divines of late against the Papists, to prove they were not guilty of Schisme, have laboured strongly, but ours doe but phantasie grounds, and make a rush at Schisme.

But I answer further, If the Classicall and Congregationall men would but joyne together [as they may if they will] and set upon that worke, they might doe something, notwithstanding these persons, but yet they cannot comfortably hold so long as these are tolerated.

Quest. Why, what harme have these done, or will they doe?

Ans. I shall tell you, under severall particulars.

1 They have much weakned the hands of the Ministry in the worke, they were once the joy of their Ministers, their Crown, and had they held close to them still, holding up their old Principles, and walking reverently, they had very much comforted their hearts, and strengthened their hands, now they

De unitâ
Ecclef.
1 Kings,
11. 30.

came to the worke of Reformation; they could in time of Persecution, when Ceremonies, and such trash abounded, cleave to them, and to those, who were silenced, they were a comfort; but now those who should have joyned with their Ministers, and carried on the worke with joynt prayers, they are gone. Cyprian compares the unity of the Church, to Christs Garment which had no seame, nor was divided; *Schisme* he compares to the Garment which *Abijah* rent in twelve peeces, that was not good for *Salomons* house, how did it weaken the Nation? thus have these rendings weakned our Churches exceedingly: *Vis unita fortior.*

2 They are now turned the greatest Persecutors the Ministers have, for *tongue persecution* it is wheeled about, and resides in this Generation: *Puritans*, *Precisians*, were the old termes, but now the termes are, *Baals-Priests*, *Anti-christians*, *Priests*, and *Black-coates* are the soberest termes, besides other jeeres and scoffes; nay yet worse, many of these would have the Ministers utterly rooted up [we heard of a Petition drawne up by some of them to be presented to the house for that end] they have threatned us what they would doe, and I doubt not, if the State would give them their wills, this should be their first vote, *Down with the Ministry*; so that all the old Persecutors were not comparable to these, they would have some downe, but honour the calling, these would cut downe all.

3 They are the Nurseries of all Errours and Heresies; where is there one society that is not tainted? who can tell how grosse they are [though we know many grosse enough] for they meet in private houses, who can tell what they vent there? but if they get into Pulpits, then they will vent something, and thence we may guesse of the rest; some of them have spoken against the Scriptures, yet some againe would have the Apocrypha to be Canonically; as a company of *Anabaptists* spent the after-noon of a Lords day, to prove the Apocrypha to be so; the London Ministers have set downe some bad enough in their Vindication, Mr. Edwards also [only he should not have jumbled all Independents together, as if they did favour such vile Opinions, he should have spared some] now if we have such Nurseries among our Churches, we shall finde it a difficult worke to keep our Churches cleare: some of these cursed seeds will be blowne into the Gardens.

4 They

4 They cause Church-Members to walke irregularly: if any doe not walke as they should, or have drunke in any poyson, if now the Brethren first, and then the Officers come to deale with them, they care for no body. If they be of any number to make a Society, that they can meet together, then they will rend away, and so meet together; but if not so many (if but one) yet they know where there is a Society of Separatists, who will take them in; and hence, what care they for all Officers and Churches? But have you experience of this you will say? Yes that I have, I could instance quickly in more then one Church. Hence I have heard Congregational Ministers say, it was but a vaine thing to goe about to gather a Church in a Town where the Separation was, or if it were neere, neither have they gathered any.

5 They doe labour to draw away the hearts of our Members from us; it hath been the language of some to my people, *You must not beleve the Black-coats*. Another time preaching about familie duties, as it lay in my Catechise in order, one of them would needs know of one of my people, what I had to doe to preach such things, I must teach Christ; to none shall finde any settling who attend upon Ministers; but blessed be God, there be many who can tell them its false, and I pray God keep me from their settling.

6 They have spoyled many hopefull young Plants, persons newly awakened, who have given some hopes; they have come in, and [like the spirits at London] stolne them away; this blessed Burroughs complained of, whose Ministry in the beginning of these troubles worked excellently, and hoped for a fine crop, but this Generation got away those young ones, as they saw them moved, and leavened them with their errours; thus this man lost many of his hopefull Plants; yea, I finde something in his Exposition upon *Hosea*, where though he doth not expresse his owne particular trouble concerning this [for what I mention, was his speech to some friends, I could set it downe larger then I have done] yet there is the thing, I know no such dreadful argument of Gods displeasure against this Nation [these are weighty words, yea, he repeats it over againe at the end of the same Paragraph] as this, that as soone as young ones begin to know Jesus Christ, there are presently corrupt errours infused into them, under the notion of honouring Christ and free grace, &c.

Cap. 5. v.
7. p. 431.

For my owne selfe I am but weake, and God hath not honoured me in that kind, so as others of his Servants, yet I have known where I have been bestowing paines, and have had some hopes, within a fortnight that an apparent change hath beene discerned: Some of this generation have come to draw them away into their Societies; telling them they shall never bee settled if they attend upon Ministers.

If these things be seriously considered, you may easily judge how comfortably our worke will goe on, while these are tolerated amongst us; this is poore comfort for Ministers to goe about Church-worke, when as if their members will prove wanton, if their officers come to deale with them, and send for them, they shall scorne to come at them, and send them base letters abusing their officers (I could set downe in the margent where such things have beene acted, but I forbear) this is nothing, so long as the Separatists, the enemies of the Ministry, are tolerated, for they can resort to them, yea, if all the members of Congregationall Churches, as well as of Presbyterian Churches, will separate from their Officers, and goe into their private houses, they may if they will, if they doe but meet together and exercise their gifts, it is sufficient. So that though Christ hath appointed the standing ordinance of the Ministry, and left the example how these shall bee orderly called, yet here is the foundation laid to destroy that Ordinance, and bring in nothing but confusion; Christ was faithfull in his house as a Sonne, and ordered all things in that house, he hath used his Ministers hitherto to bring home those that he hath elected and purchased, he will have his house upon the *Mountaines*, but now we are come to this point not to care whether we have Ordinances or no, officers or no, what comfort then can we have in going about this work of reforming our Churches?

But further if it be well observed, these people are no such friends to the *State*, though they are looked upon as the onely friends the State hath; it will appeare if we consider them in a *morall* or *politically* respect.

First, for the morall respect, the strength of a Christian state lies, in having Christ on their side, and I am sure the strength of our *State* lyes there; now is that a way to keepe Christ on our side, to tolerate those who seeke to undermine that

that whereby he is knowne in the world? take away Ordinances, and the Ministers who are appointed by him to dispense these Ordinances, where shall we know Christ? but these labour to doe this. Can it be for their safety to tolerate such, that hinder his visible Kingdome from being set up, (at least with poore comfort?) what is the reason that all this while there is no Discipline set up? why are we in such a shattered broken condition? no man hath any minde to stirre; our obstructions are not from the Drunkards, Whoremongers, prophane swearers, &c. chiefly these carry so much conviction in their owne consciences, that they dare not much appeare; but these *Schismes* and *Errors* tolerated have been our obstructions: If it shal please the State but to put forth some power to heal these (not that I would have all errors knockt down with club-law) and but stand to the Ministry, I hope we shall see the Churches of *England* in another posture, and things so carried, that no man, who walks by a pure conscience, shall be justly offended; for as for the Classicall and Congregationall Ministers, they are come so near, that I beleieve there will be no difference between them. Those who hinder Christs Kingdome, cannot be true friends to a Christian civill State. If any shall object, the State hath prospered since these *Schismes*, and *Errors* have had their liberty, therefore God doth witnesse for them: I should say there is little Divinity in this kind of arguing, *viz.* to argue from Providence, to the maintaining of things crosse to the word of God: besides here is *fallacia non causæ pro causâ*; For next to Gods own free & soveraign pleasure, which was the main cause, the instrumental cause of the prospering of Army, &c. must be referred to the many precious Saints of God, Ministers and others, who are men resolute for Christs Ordinances, and Officers; men who stand to their old Principles, abhorring these Errors and Schismes; who very much feare, least if the *Scottish* party prevailed in this way, there would be little liberty for the sound and moderate Presbyterian men, as well as Congregationall, and therefore they lay in hard with God, by fasting, and Prayer, for the disappointing of the *Scottish* designes: and surely Christ hath more respect to his owne people, who are tender of his Ordinances, Truths, and Officers, and long to see him set up in all his Ordinances before they dye, rather then to such, as make light of all the former. Few of these Separatists

ratists trouble fasting and prayer very much, they are so full of joy; they cast off those flesh-afflicting Ordinances.

I would have none to mistake me, as if I were an enemy to the Church of *Scotland*. No verily, I doe much honour divers of the Ministers, and the Church of God is much bound to blesse God for their labours; both of former times, *Rollocke* &c. and also in these latter daies; I conceive that man is either proud, or ignorant, or erroneous, who shall read Mr. *Rutherford* against the Jesuits, and Arminians, and doth not blesse God for him. Yea, the peeces that he, and Mr. *Gillespie* have writ concerning the controversies of these times, for their learning, and sweetnesse of spirit in them, who can but blesse God for them, yea, though in some places crosse to our Congregationall men? though they are condemned and sleighted here, yet they are revered, and highly esteemed amongst the worthies in *New England*.

Yea, I adde further, I wish from my heart, that the Discipline of the Church of *Scotland*, as I finde it set downe in Mr. *Rutherford*, and others, were set up in *England*, though in some points a little crosse to Congregationall principles; and yet lay all together, what I finde in Mr. *Gillespie*, I am so satisfied that I know men of moderate spirits in the Congregationall way, may be borne with, and live sweetly with them. What the practices of the people in *Scotland* are, I know not [I am sure they have not worse hearts then mine] they are not their Practices, but their soundnesse in Opinion, and Discipline I desire, they must be honoured for their purity in Worship, against humane mixtures, and for their soundnesse in the faith.

2 In a politicall respect they cannot be judged true friends to the *State*.

This appeares, First, From what we have observed already among them; in that time, when the *Levelling* party stirred, how many of these did strike in with that party, is well known here in the Country, and other great Townes, by drawing up Petitions [onely they were interrupted in their worke] some again speaking most basely of the Parliament, they could match the old Royalists in their language; such, I say, as are now, and then were tolerated; and I doubt if that party moves againe, we shall see what faithfull Subjects these are, though now they are tolerated as friends.

Secondly, The tolerating of these keep other men of great holinesse, learning, and abilities from cordiall closing with the State; the Covenant to be sure, is expressly against *Schisme*, and *Heresse*. I have heard

heard leading men say, if there were a good *Aristocracy* set up in the Nation, so that we might have true Patriots for the Nation; and if they would take some order with these *Schismes*, and *Errors*, so that the Ordinances and Government of Christ might be set up, indeed they could submit very wel, if God shews it to be his mind to lay by Monarchy: Now it would be more honour and safety for a State, to have such men close with them, rather then such as these are; I have heard this from such, as are leading men before the *Worcester* fight, which I adde because it may be thought, now they would do it, now they see no other hopes.

I shall wind up this Discourse against our Separatists [many of which, I am sure, have before owned the Ministers; yea, and received Baptisme and the Lords Supper at their hands] by propounding a few Questions unto them.

1. *Quest.* Have you any thing against your Ministers in respect of their conversations [if they be scandalous in their lives, you have a way to help your selves] do they not walke in some measure as becometh Christians? Questions propounded to the Separatists

2 Is not their Ministry wholesome? doe they not preach soundly, converting, and edifying truths? though all have not the same gifts.

3 If you can charge them with either of these, have you with that respect, which becomes their places, dealt with them, and told them of such faults? have you told them once and againe, yet they have refused to heare you, while you have patiently waited? you must do so towards a private brother, before you part, much more with a Minister.

4 Have you called in other Ministers to hear the Case, and to judge in it? or are you only your own judges?

5 Doe they mixe any thing in the Worship of God, so as you cannot joyne with them in the worship without sinne? and have you dealt with them as before?

6 If there be some thing which you would have received or done, have you given them convincing Arguments to prove it ought to be?

7 Was the thing you desired *Tanti*, of so great consideration, that the word wil clearly bear you out for separating, because you could not enjoy what you would have?

8 Might not meeknesse of spirit waiting a while have won your Ministers to a yeelding in some degree to what you desired?

9. Was there no Church in the Towne before you separated, and entred into a Covenant together? (this I adde because some of these call themselves *The Church*) and are there no visible Saints in the Towne but your selves?

10. When you did separate, whose counsell had you? what Churches joyned with you in the act, and also were present when you did joyne together, to heare your Confession of Faith, whether you were found in the Faith or no?

I heartily wish they would give in Answers to these Questions according to the word clearly, I thinke they will see themselves snared. Let us in few words heare what others say concerning separation.

Survey
Chu. dis. in
Pref.

Mr. Hooker, that eminent man of God saith, *The faithfull Congregations in England are true Churches, and therefore it is sinfull to separate from them, as no Churches.*

Resp. ad
Apollon.
p. 156. &c.

Mr. Norton, another Congregational man, acute and holy, hath written upon this subject excellently: If the Separatists doe understand the Latine tongue, they shall finde their practises overthrowne and condemned, *Rejicimus Separatistas non distinguentes inter ecclesiam, & impuritates ecclesie, Grave crimen schismatis.* I wish we had a few of these Mr. Nortons in England, though he be a man who stands much for the peoples liberty, yet he so ordereth their liberty, that our Ministers would be glad if they had their Churches governed, as is the Church whereof himselfe, together with Mr. Na. Rogers, are officers; these are Congregationall men. I will not rehearse what I finde in *Camero*, because he wrote before these times, and will be reckoned for a *Presbyterian*; foure grounds he gives for separation, none of which I am sure our Separatists can alleadge, 1. Grievous and intolerable persecution. 2. When the Church is Heretical. 3. When Idolatry is set up. 4. When the Church is the seat of Antichrist. I shall conclude with a speech of his, *Ut nihil æque arguit ingenium spiritus Christi, ac studium conservandæ societatis & unionis; in quo charitas elucet; sic etiam nullum est evidentius argumentum pravitatis ingenii humani (unde & inter carnis opera contentiones nominantur) quam tumultuandi & rixandi studium.*

De schif-
mate.

Object. But you have spoken against godly men all this while.

Ans. Not against their godlinesse one word, their schisme & errors only I have opposed. But I know not what new Divinity we have got up in these dayes, that if they be godly men that drinke in errors,

errours, or practise inordinately; Oh, take heed how you speake, they are godly men; there may be an unwise speaking, when men shall onely sling out against persons, but confute nothing; but certainly godly men deserve reproofe as well as others; I hope the being of a godly man doth not make that to be no sinne in him, which is sinne in another; but here is the subtilty of Satan, and it was all the game he had to play in those times, I must now, saith he, get into an Angel of light, and I must worke among these godly professors, if I can get some of those away, I shall get other hollow ones to cleave to them, and make a party: If I now make not a division among them, but that they joyne all with one shoulder to set up Christs Kingdome, and thrust down mine, it will go hard with my kingdome; now therefore, finde fault with the Ordination of Ministers, it was Popish, so separate from them; plead conscience, that is a tender peece; strive for exact purity (though it be beyond the rule as to visible Church-fellowship,) and thus he hath found out his wayes to damp all the worke of Reformation.

I shall say no more but this, though some of these Separatists are godly men, yet if godly men stand thus as now we do, I beleeeve God will not spare us, though we be godly men, but he will ere long bring such plagues upon the *professing* party in England, as shall make their hearts ake. For my part, I look on England thus, there have been choice servants of God in England, who laboured under the Hierarchicall oppression, many strong cryes have they made for the removall of that burden, and that they might enjoy him in his owne Ordinances, without the mixtures of mens inventions; God hath given us in the answer of those prayers, as to the removing of what offended: and now saith God, looke you to it, yee Professors, I give the power (which never your Fathers saw) into the hands of the Puritanicall * party, let me now see how you will improve it for the advancement of my Church and glory; but verily if we improve it no better then now we do, we must look that God will not intrust us with this power long (he doth not use to stay long before he visits his Churches) but quickly deprive us of this liberty, and Lord if thou doest, thou shalt be just.

Having done with the Separatists, I shall now take a short view of the agreements and differences that are with, and between the Classical and Congregational Divines, and then

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shall make bold to present an humble request to the Congregational Divines.

1. Do the Classiſical-brethren ſtand for all the Ordinances of Chriſt, as Praying, Preaching, Sacraments, Discipline, &c? ſo doe the Congregational-brethren.

2. Do the Classiſical-brethren ſtand for Chriſts officers, *Paſtors, achanes, Ruling-elders, Deacons*, allowing ſuch, and onely ſuch? ſo doe the Congregational-brethren. They agree in worſhip and in officers.

3. Do the Classiſical-brethren hold to the old doctrines of Faith, Repentance, holding up the preaching of the Law in its method, to prepare before faith, to guide after faith? ſo doe the Congregational-brethren, ſuch as we looke upon as ſound, and eſteem worth the regarding.

4. Do the Classiſical-brethren hold the government of the Church to be *Presbyterial*? ſo doe the Congregational-men, ſuch as are the moſt acute. Beſides what Mr. Norton (none of the loweſt ranke) hath aſſerted in his book which I quoted before, I have heard him ſay, *That if the Congregational-government did make the government of the Church democratical, he would give up the cauſe.*

For my part, I am but among the weakeſt of Gods Miniſters, but yet I thinke it were no hard matter to prove the government of the Church to be *Ariſtocratical*: I enter not now into the debating of the queſtion, but this hath much ſtucke with me.

Fiſt, there is government in the Church, I meane an externall politie, beſides an internall government of the Spirit, what ever our phantaſtical Spiritualiſts have dreamed of; the Scripture is too plain againſt theſe.

Secondly, then there are *governours* and *governed*; this muſt needs be yeelded, *elſe government* cannot be; for *governours* there are, none that are found in their wits can deny, if they owne the Scriptures.

Thirdly, the affaires then of the Church muſt be ſo carried, that theſe Relates may be kept diſtinct: for that government which deſtroys theſe, by making the *Correlate*, *i. the body governed*, to be *governour* (and ſo there are none governed) cannot poſſibly be, a government ſtanding ſo much with the light of nature. There is no government, if all rule.

Obj.

Obj. But how can the government of the Church be Aristocraticall, when as you carry things by the suffrage of the people?

Ans^r. I should desire also to propound these questions.

First, would you not, if now Churches were constituting, give the people this liberty, that if any could bring in good testimony against a man, who was to be received into the Church, that they should do it, and if the thing be proved, will not you refuse to admit such a one?

Sec^d ondy, if it now come to casting out of a member, will not you give liberty to any of the brethren, who shall (first asking you leave to speak) in a sober, grave way, propound some question to the clearing of the case in hand, before the people joyn with you in cutting off a member, I say, would not you give this liberty?

Thirdly, will you excommunicate *renitente ecclesiâ*? your books say otherwise, and you know what both our Ancient and Moderne Divines have affirmed in this point, and therefore I quote none.

I do not mention election to be given to the people, for that hath nothing of government in it, and this you give fully; but if you grant me the three former heads, then which way you will prove the government to be Aristocraticall, the same way I shall. I have spoken to this before, and therefore conclude with Chamier, and others, the government is Aristocraticall.

Obj. But how can this be, if the people will not consent, how are they governed?

Ans^r. Put case Jonathan had been indeed a great malefactor, and Saul would have had him legally and justly put to death, but the people would not consent to their King, but rescue Jonathan, shall we hence conclude, ergo the government of Israel is not Monarchicall? the case is the same here.

Now I am upon this head, I shall desire to make a little digression, before I proceed to any more heads. Mr. Edwards in a Sermon at Colchester laid down this Thesis.

That there was no such tyrannicall government in any Church (unlesse it were in the Church of Rome) as is in the Independent Churches; he proved it thus, They carry all things by the suffrage of the people; and if all doe not consent, they will censure them; how he will prove this? a speciall example, in the Church of Boston in New England, where

(102)
they excommunicated Mrs. Hutchison; because her owne sonne did not joyne in the casting out of his owne mother, he was likewise censured; an unnaturall thing, said he, and so carried it, that both his owne friends, and other Ministers, who were strangers, thought he was also excommunicated, as they told me when I spake with them.

The story doth something concerne the head I am upon, and therefore I make bold to insert it here. I was a little troubled at the passage, knowing well how things were carried, being present at that time, and so tooke occasion some few weeks after, to give a bare narrative how the thing was carried with so much meeknesse, I am sure as none could accuse me. The summe is this, When all wayes according to the word had beene tryed with Mrs. Hutchison to recall her, but none would prevaile, the question was put to the Church to manifest consent for her excommunication; her sonne and sonne-in-law (one more then Mr. Edwards mentioned) stood up to put some stop in the way (had they sate still, as any body would have expected, though they had suspended their votes, I know not who would have spoken one word to them) Mr. Cotton rose up, and gave them a grave admonition, that though their naturall affection might now worke, for which hee did not blame them, yet he would not have them preferre their mother before Christ, nor hinder their mother from that Ordinance, which might bee a meanes to save her soule; with these words they both sate downe: they never had any other censure (if this be a censure) and the Church proceeded in her excommunication. Now I appeale unto all, to judge where was the tyranny in this act? yet though I carried this with all mildnesse, this was the onely cause why Mr. Edwards raked up all he could against me, and put it into print, even such things as never were in my thoughts. But here you may see, they stand not upon the suffrage of all the people.

Fifthly, doe the Clasical-men call for Synods? so do the Congregational-men, Mr. Cotton, Keyes c. 6. Mr. Norton, *Response ad Apolon.* p. 112. &c.

And certainly they are men of strange spirits, who deny Synods to be usefull, and no Ordinance of God: I doubt he did not well consider what his pen let drop, and left it to posterity, That he never saw any good that came by any Synod, but rather
the

the contrary. A great Clerke indeed he was, but surely the man was in some passion; I am sure I have knowne the contrary, much good come by Synods; but some of our Independents snatch up this sentence of his, as if it were Apostolical. This is the difference, say the *Congregational-men*, the Synod bindes *directivè, non juridicè*, the *Classical* will have both.

When I observe what both sides speak of Synods, methinks this can be no such matter of difference.

The *Classical* Brethren say, *All the determinations even of Na-* Lond.
tionall Synods are to be obeyed no further, then they agree with the word Vind.p.23
of God; and that a Synod est iudex judicantius; That Congregations
are to examine with the judgement of discretion, what is sent to them from
Synods.

Mr. Rutherford saith, *The Acts of the Assembly oblige all the Peac. plea-*
absents, not present in all their members, not because of the Authority P.322.
of the Church, but because of the matter, which is necessary and agreeable
to Gods word.

That people may not examine decrees of their Synods according to Ib. p.246.
Gods word: That people may not reason or speake in their Synods, we ac-
knowledge no such Synods. This latter needs a little fencing, other-
wise we should have confusion enough; our Churches in New
England chose out of every Church, two of the ablest of the
private brethren, and sent them as their messengers, these in-
deed had liberty to speake and propound doubts in the
Synod, but it was not left free for any body to speake, that
would.

Mr. Gillespie states a question; "Suppose a scandalous person
"would come to the Sacrament, the Minister knowing him to Aar.rod.
"be so, adviseth the Eldership to joyne with him, and do their 477, 478.
"duty in keeping this person away, it may be they refuse;
"Appeale is made to higher Assemblies, Classis, Synod, &c.
"they it may be will judge him fit for the Sacrament, this is
"their sentence, must this Minister now obey the sentence of the
"Classis or Synod? His determination is, That the Minister
"being cleare in his conscience, and the matter of scandal suf-
"ficiently proved, he must not doe an unlawfull act in obedi-
"ence to men, but follow the rule, 1 Tim. 5.22. *Keep thy selfe*
"pure, his conscience illuminated by Gods word is a rule to him
"of his owne personal acting, or not acting.

Come to the *Congregational-men*, Mr. Cotton saith, *We dare not* Keys p.25
say,

say that the power of a Synod reaches no further then the giving counsell, they bind burthens, they bind not onely materially, but formally, from the Authority of the Synod, See more, p. 53. 54.

Neither doe I see, that our reverend Divines in their preface to that book do oppose Mr. Cotton; for say they [in laying down Mr. Cottons judgement] *Christ hath not furnished them only with ability to give Counsell, but with a Ministeriall power and Authority, to determine, declare, and injoyne such things, as may tend to reducing such Congregations to right order and peace.* But is there Authority? it may be my shallownesse; but for the present I doe not call to mind any power invested with Authority, but if they injoyne a thing to bee done, and it be refused, that Authority will reach further. *Authoritas cogit*, as is the kind of the Authority, Civill or Ecclesiasticall.

Iren p. 44.

Blessed Burroughs [in answering to that which some would have, "*scil.* that a Synod may formally excommunicate, because by excommunication, they (*i.e.* Hereticall Churches) are put out of the Kingdome of Christ, into the Kingdome of Satan, and this will terrifie] saith, consider whether this be not done before, and that with an authority of Christ, by those former six things (mentioned in the page before) for Hereticall Congregations, or persons are judged, and declared in a solemn Ordinance, by the Officers of Christ gathered together in his name, to be such as have no right to any Church Ordinance, to have no Communion with any of the Churches of Christ; now if this judgement be right, are not such persons or Congregations put out of the Kingdome of Christ, and put under the power of Satan, consequently?

Certainly, this cannot be a ground of such difference, shall *Non* and *Ex* make such a stir, when *Non* is as bad as *Ex*? I should judge my self, I am sure, to be in as bad a case by the one, as the other, though for my part this notion of Catholike-visible-Church, hath made me ready to yeeld to Synods juridicall power; I could I say yeeld it, and yet not differ from these reverend Divines, if they follow home their non-communication close.

Now if you say, what doth this helpe against Hereticall Congregations, though you have proceeded to Non-communication, they regard it not, but still go on in their Heresies, and leaven others? to that they wil say, what do they care for your excommunication, if all the Hereticks in England were excommunicated, they would not care, but go on still. Indeed our *New England* Divines will teach us a way how to helpe it, *viz.* if a Synod hath declared against an Hereticall Congregation,

tion, being pertinacious, and so hath proceeded to non-communication, they will call in the Civil power to help, and so they have a way to help by their non-communication, and this must be the help of them though they be excommunicated.

This Mr. Norton intimates, *Ecclesie appellant Magistratum in causis Ecclesie non ad doctrinam declarandam, vel disciplinam exequendam, sed ad doctrinam a Concilio declaratam, vel disciplinam ab ecclesia applicatam sanctione Civili confirmandam.* The duty which Mr. Cotton sheweth to lye upon the Civill Magistrate inferres as much. As also Mr. Burroughs. And thus it was in *New England*; when the Synod (at which the Civill Power was present, as to hear, so to keep civill order) had confuted and condemned the Errors and Heresies, and so was broke up, then a Generall Court was called, which soon suppressed those Heresies, and brought the Churches to peace again.

If the Civill power would do as much here, we should soon see our Churches in better order. What Civill Magistrates have done in this case before, I need not mention, books are full. Its true, the Churches were, when there was no Civill Power to defend them, but oppose them; but we can finde how many Heresies and Schismes they were then troubled with; shall the Church be in no better case under a Christian Civill Power, Nursing-Fathers, then at that time?

6 Doe the *Classicall* godly men looke upon their Congregations, having visible Saints among them, to be true *visible Churches*? so doe the *Congregationall* men judge them also. I gave instance before.

7 Would then the *Classical* brethren, have their members (being such as have right to the Ordinance) to partake with Congregational Churches in the Lords Supper to shew their communion? certainly so they *ought*; but why Congregationall men doe refuse godly men, members of *Classicall* Churches, not admitting them to the Lords Supper, when they have desired it, is very strange to me; I wish our reverend Brethren would give us solid grounds for this practice, for it gives offence, and that justly. ^a Mr. Hooker, and ^b Mr. Burroughs have both said they should be admitted: Shal a Church be acknowledged to be a true Church, where Doctrine and Worship is pure also, this person a member of it, a visible Saint (it may be a real Saint) and shall he be denyed communion?

8 For *Classes*, the *Congregationall* men say, *Consociation of Churches is not onely lawfull, but in some cases necessary.* So Mr. Hooker.

Resp. ad Apol. 148
Keyes 50
Iren. c.4.
Mr. Mar-
shal re-
lates, that
Zuinglius
in a pub-
lick dis-
pute did so
stop the
mouthes
of the A-
nabaptist;
that they
appearing
to the Ma-
gistrates
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ably ob-
stinate,
were ba-
nished the
City,
Defen. ag.
Tomb. 58.

^a Preface
to survey
ch. dif.
^b Iren. p.
266.

Pref. sur-
ch. dif.

Mr. Cotton speakes fully to this, Keyes p. 54, 55. weighty matters such as, *Election and ordination of Elders, excommunication of an Elder, or any person of publike note, the translation of an Elder from one Church to another*, it is an holy Ordinance to proceed with common consultation and consent. I suppose thus much might have beene obtained of the *Classical-brethren*, that though in cases of weight, as excommunication, they would not have such an Ordinance carried on by one Minister, but have the thing seriously examined first, and debated in a *Classis*, yet when the thing had beene concluded upon, they would leave the execution of the sentence to the officer, or officers of the Church, where the case lyeth. If so much might be obtained, I should be very farre from opposing a *Classis*, I would not willingly live without one.

I know of no other material point of difference, as for the first subject of the power of the Keyes, that is but a notion, though its true, much practise depends upon it, yet I finde not that our Divines here would have the *fraternity* to be the first subject, by their owning of Mr. Cotton his booke of the *Keyes*; for Mr. Cotton makes a *Church organized* to bee the first subject, and not the *Fraternity*, as is apparent in divers places of that booke.

The summe is, I wonder at our differences, well might that worthy Divine say in his letter to me from *New England*, *Its the wonderment of this side of the world, that you that are godly, and may agree, yet will not!* surely the cause lyeth more in the *Will*, then anything else. Give me leave therefore I pray, to make my humble request to our Reverend Divines, the *Congregational-men*, that they would please to close in with the *Classical brethren*, and not suffer these groundlesse differences to trouble the Churches any longer. If you aske, *Why doe you make your request to us, are we the cause why they are not healed?* I cannot thinke the cause lyes onely in the Ministers; nay I have heard long since there had been an agreement among the Ministers, had not some others that live by divisions, broken it; but whether all Ministers are of the same minde I know not: nay, I have observed the spirits of some *Congregational-Ministers* carried with more eagernesse against the *Classical-brethren*, then *à converso*, and I am sure, if there be any blame among the Ministers, it is charged most upon the *Congregational-men*, whether justly or no, it concerns

cernes you to cleare your selves : Besides, at this time the Civill power most smiles upon you, and now it is a good time to shew you seeke the peace and flourishing of all Churches, by joyn- ing with your fellow-brethren, and not to be content though your *Interest* be safe, unlesse the whole may have comfort as well as your selves; for you cannot but judge that there are more true visible Churches, then those which are called Inde- pendent Churches, and that there be others that are true Mi- nisters, besides the Independent Ministers; why then should not the comfort of these Churches and Ministers be sought? which cannot be, unlesse your selves be pleased to declare against these errours and schismes of the times, and fall in with these Mi- nisters to carry on the worke of Christ together. Let mee, I beseech you, present to your view a few things to be consi- dered.

First, the *Classical men* have bid very faire for peace and agree- ment with you; heare their words, *We doe here manifest our wil- lingnesse to accommodate with you according to the word in a way of union;* Lond. in Vind. p. 120. *and (such of us as are Ministers) to preach up and to practise a mutuall forbearance and toleration in all things, that may consist with the funda- mentals of Religion [what need then any other Toleration?] with the power of godlinesse, and with that peace, which Christ hath establisht in his Church; but to make ruptures in the body of Christ, and to divide Church from Church, &c. there is no warrant for this out of the word.* The page before this, they offer as much as this, and speake so Christianly and ingenuously, that it must needs move any Christian heart that loves the peace and prosperity of the Churches, to meet them halfe way, and not suffer any diffe- rences more to appeare.

As for that exception they make, *the ruptures of Churches*, I thinke it to be a very just exception; that golden rule hath place here, *ut tibi, sic aliis*, would any of us be content to have other Ministers take from us the best of our people that have chosen us before, and owned us for their officers? say what you please, you are *men*, and I know it would be a strong temptation, when as for want of these, also their hands are weakned in the carry- ing on of Reformation in their Churches.

If you take away the best (who are the joy of a Minister) take away the worst also. If you live neare a place where there is no Minister, and take in such Christians to you as the place affords,

and returne them when the place is furnished : or if there be a Minister, and but few Christians, so that he cannot give the Lords Supper with comfort, if he and his people will joyne with you they may, none oppose this; but when a godly Minister hath visible Saints sufficient in his Parish, to have these taken from him, is such a thing which I would not have offered to me, therefore I would not offer the same to another. I know where the pinch lyes, on the Ministers part, *Our maintenance ariseth from the members, &c.* but for this the State hath provided an answer (and certainly it is a great mercy) reforme you in the place where you live, take none but Scripture-visible-Saints to the Sacraments, catechize, and doe what you can to reforme the rest, the State hath provided for your maintenance, none shall keepe it from you, as well as the word gives it you, Gal. 6. *Let him that is taught in the word communicate to him that teacheth in all good things.* Christ sent Paul not to baptize, but to preach the Gospel, 1 Cor. 1. 17. preaching is the spending worke, and the chiefe, of this all the Parish are partakers, I am ready to dispense the Seales to all visible Saints, therefore I know no scruple why I should not receive from all, since all receive from me.

O but your members will not be content with this. I know not but your members may finde God in a godly reformed Classicall Church, we see the differences are very small; but suppose the worst, let then your members remove into the Parishes where you live, and this is no offence to any; if they say, *It will something hinder their estate:* Mr. Burroughs will tel them then they love their bodies better then their soules, if they looke upon things very much concerning their soul, and will not buy them with some abatement of their profit: could this have beene once enjoyed, *New England* sufferers had not been there now; Though Parishes are not Churches, yet Ministers care must be bounded some where. I presume you are willing to close, so that you may not sin.

I beseech you first, what sinne is it to let a godly Classicall man enjoy his owne members?

Secondly, What sinne is it to admit a visible Saint, and member of a Classicall Church to communion with you?

Thirdly, what sinne is it to declare against the errors and schismes of the times? you see it is the thoughts of the *New England* Divines, that through our too much connivence at these, this inundation of errors is like to destroy all. If these
three

three be but yeelded, I beleieve you may live and enjoy your liberty of conscience, and no man will trouble you.

2. A second consideration is this, you see those who call for agreement, they are no babes, they are men, holy, learned, excellently gifted, and the arguments they give for their *Classical* forme of government are not slight, but such as deserve strong heads to answer; it may be my shallownesse, but truly I cannot yet see some things they plead for to be clearly answered, as their arguments for the *Catholick-Church-visible*; their arguments for their *Presbyterial Church*, from the Church of *Jerusalem*, *Corinth*, &c. yet I have read the answers with a kinde of prejudice against the *Classical way*, being before engaged in the *Congregational-way*, and usually then men are apt to make a little serve the turne: But I cannot yet be satisfied, and that such a Church as is in this small village where I live, should have equall power with the Church of *Corinth*, and be exempted from all other power, though (which God forbid) we should walke scandalously, is a peece of Divinity that I cannot yet beleieve. There seemes to be something in that which learned Mr. *Hudson* hinteth from 1 Cor. 14.34. *Let your women keepe silence in the Churches.* Here are Churches in *Corinth*, he doth not say, *Let women*, but *Let your women* (that indeed which is a rule for the Churches of *Corinth*, is a rule for all Churches) those Congregations are called *Churches*, yet one combined Church of *Corinth*.

There are other points besides which I mention not, but certainly the controversie is not so clear as the controversie against *Papists*, *Socinians*, &c. therefore I should thinke that we had need close the more with these men.

A third consideration is this; unto me it is something, I know not how it takes with others, the strange things that God in his Providence hath suffered to fall out in *Congregational Churches*, I meane for Divisions especially, and errours; that charge cannot bee denied of many *Congregationall Members* what errours they have drunke in; and for *Divisions*, they are not secret things, but such as the whole Nation knows, insomuch that I have heard a serious *Congregationall Minister*, and an able man say, when he hath heard what crackes, and rendings there have been in *Congregationall Churches*, he thought seriously whether it were the way of God or no; how

See Divi.
p. 114 that
learned
Book.

many Congregationall Churches may be reckoned where these have been, and if Ministers doe not let their Members take their owne course, even what they will, and drinke in what errours they will, it is hard to keep a Church from rendering, *England* gives strong proofe of this. It is a very unhappy Story that Mr. Edwards relates of the Church at *Arnhem*, if it be true, I finde it quoted by the *London* Ministers: where that Act was done in *New England*, that Mr. Cawdrey mentions in his Epistle to the dissenting Brethren, I cannot imagine; but that is also strange, if true; I suppose he relates as it was related to him, I know indeed where there is a sad example of this kinde there also. This use I make of these things, that we had need take another review of Congregationall principles, in respect of that power which is given to the Fraternity, and in the meane time to be very tender towards the *Classicall* Brethren, and study agreement with them.

The fourth, The *Classicall* men are opposed in reforming their Churches, as well as the *Congregationall* men; now for these to be opposed, not only by the prophane part, whom they keep off from the Lords Supper, but to be opposed also by the *Congregationall* men, that they prove a grieft to them, this is a hard chapter; certainly we had need more close with them, and help to comfort them, rather then grieve them in their worke, they are scorned by the profane party, let not us scorne them.

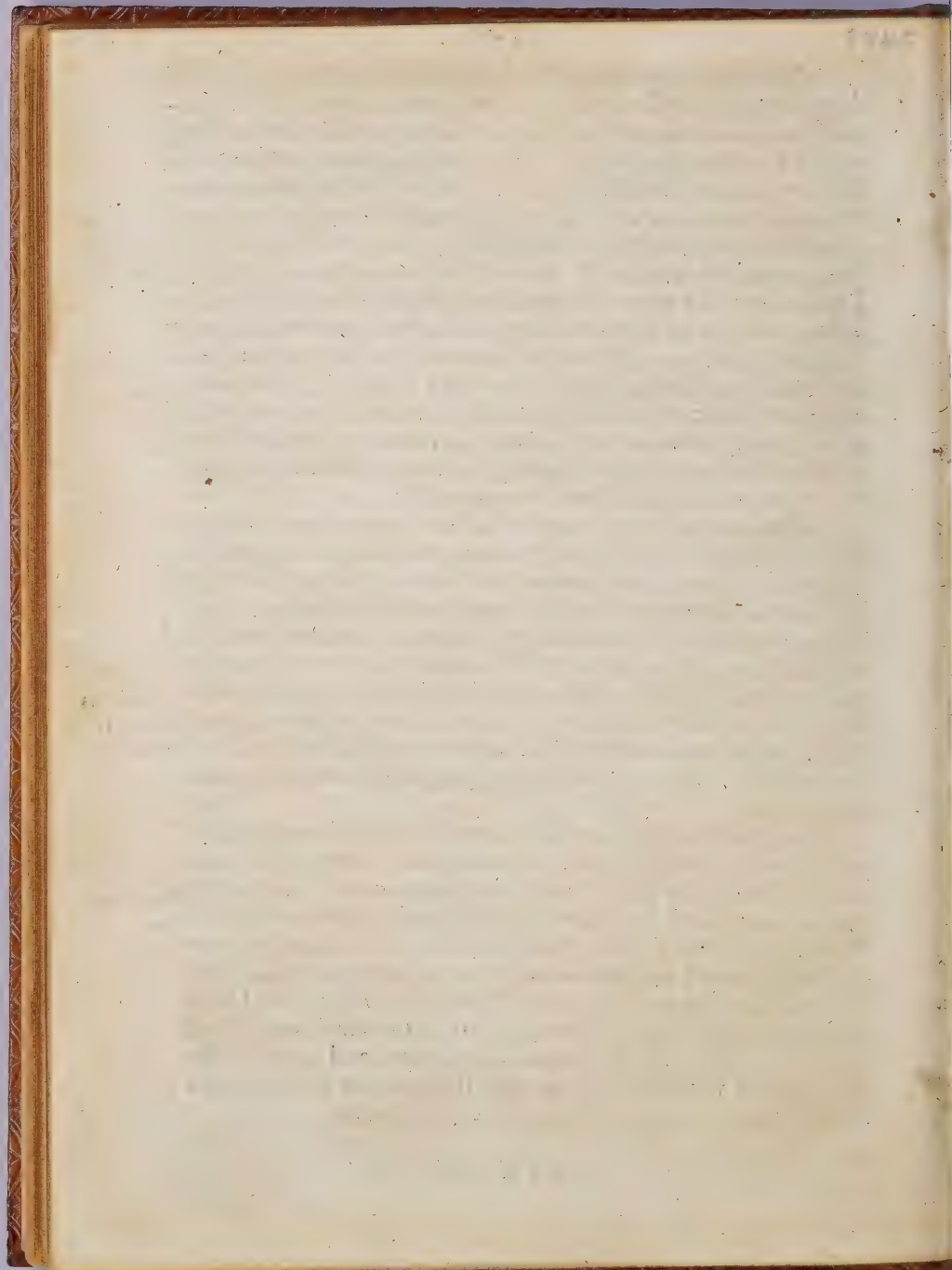
5 These Nurseries of errours [I meane the Separatists, who cast off Orthodox Officers] are as bad enemies to the *Congregationall* Churches, as they are to the *Classicall*; nay worser, your Members will quickly drinke in their poyson, yea, and goe away from you to them, as experience hath testified; therefore it concernes you to joyne with the *Classicall* men against them; but by one passage I meet with in the *London Vindication*, it seems some *Congregationall* men doe not thinke so, for they in their complaint to you thus speake; *Are there not some of you that chuse rather to joyne with Anabaptists, and Episcopall men then with us? and that will give letters dimissory to your Members, to depart from you to the Churches of the Anabaptists? and at the same time deny them to such as desire them, for to joyne with Churches of our Communion? we charge not these things upon you all, but upon some, whose names we forbear to mention; this is very strange, but this confirms what I said before, that the cause of our dis-union is not altogether in the Classicall men.*

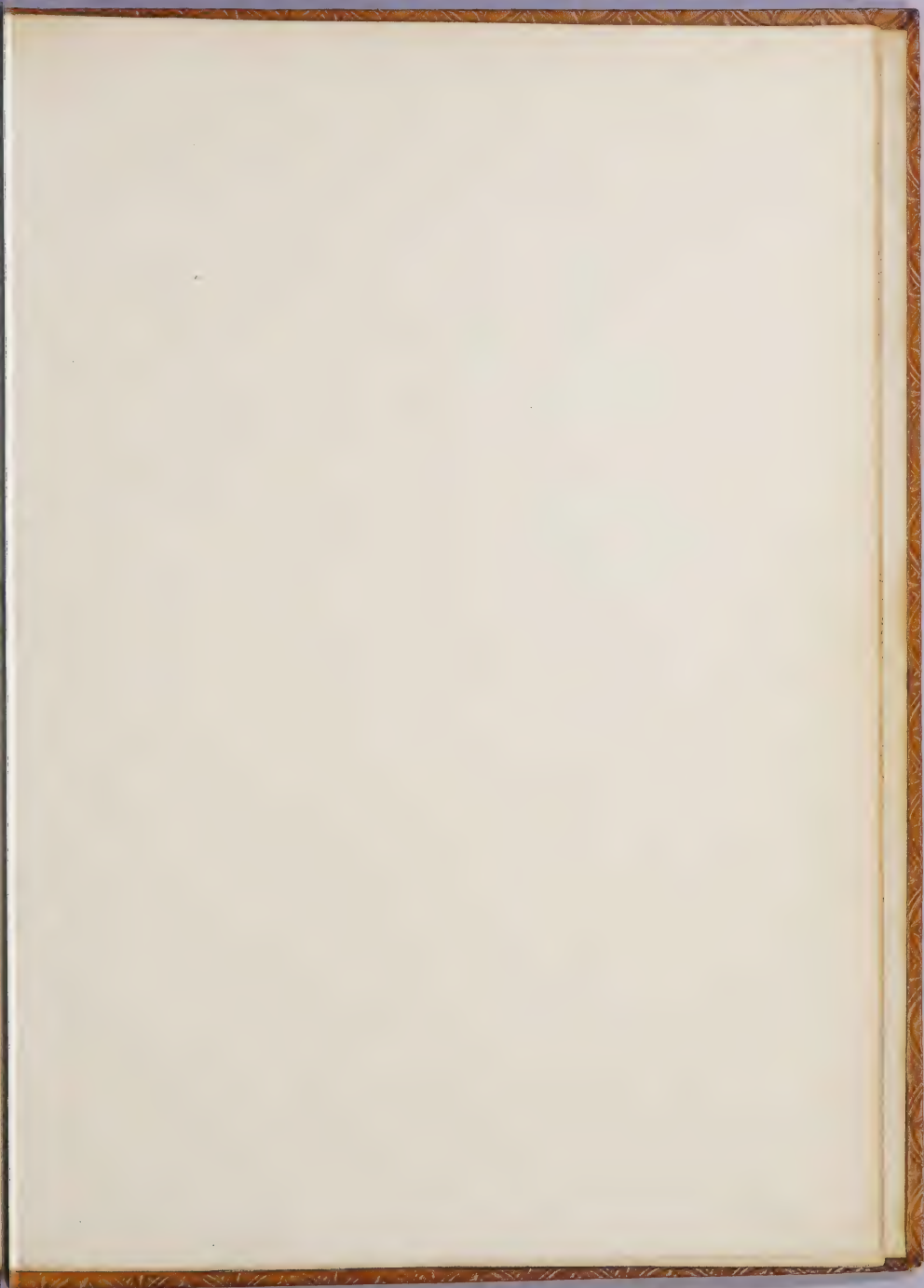
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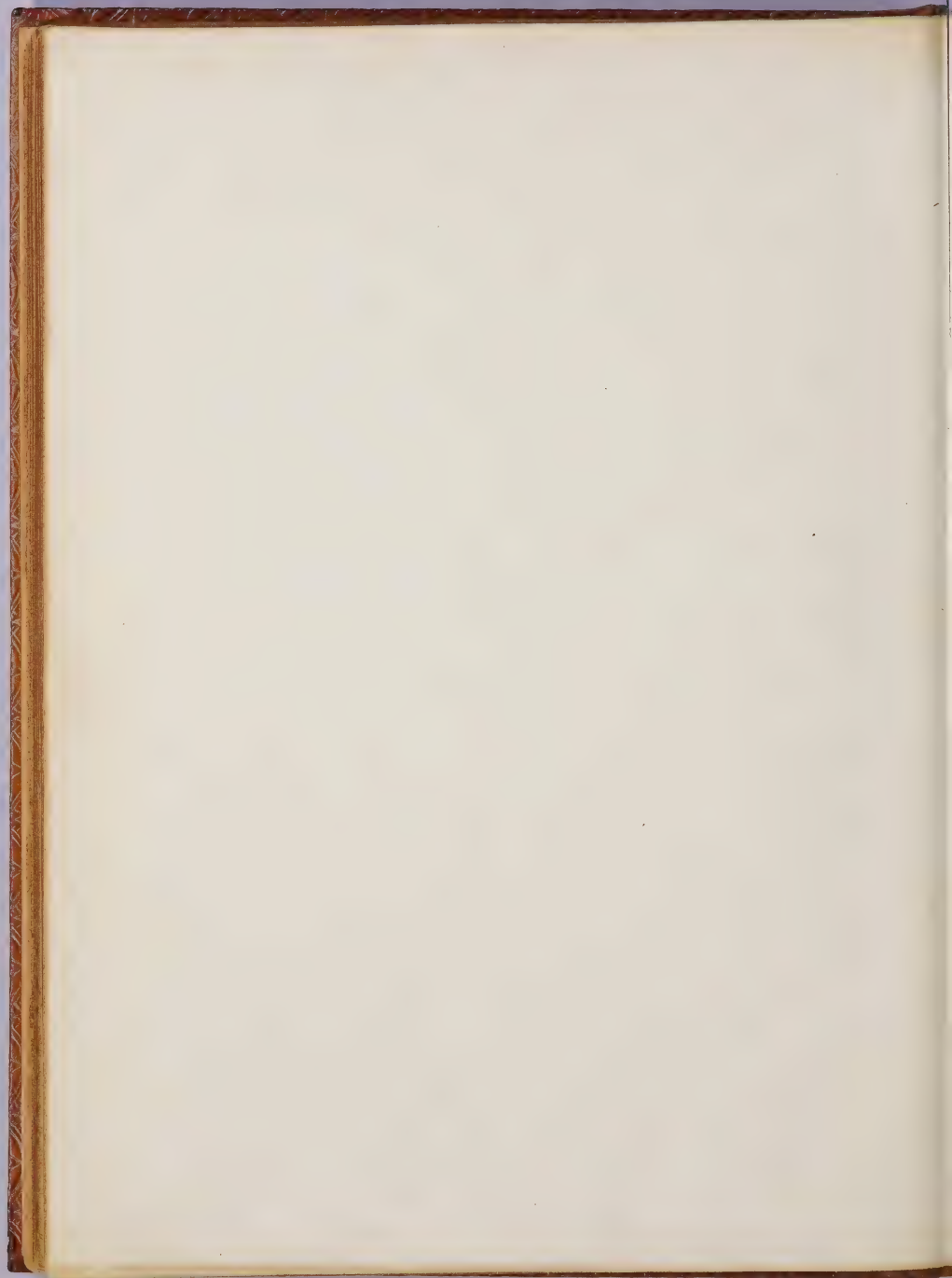
6 I pray consider what a fine Game the Devill hath played by this opposition between us, hath he not turned our Reformation into a deformation? Hath he not caused the building of the Temple to cease? Doe not all things that concerne the Reformation of the Church stand at a stay? What doe we now? indeed those who are for Congregationall Government, have the opportunity to gather Churches [as they call it] but what becomes of the whole? It was told me when I was in *Spaine*, [which was the winter before *Naseby* Fight] that divers that were in religious Orders that lived there, were got into *England*; Certainly Jesuits, or Devils have been here to hold the Congregationall, and Classicall Brethren at such a distance, that while they have been contending about Government, we are in danger of loosing Ordinances, Truths, Government, and be swallowed up with a deluge of Errors, Schismes, and Heresies; *Divide & impera*, that hath been Satans project.

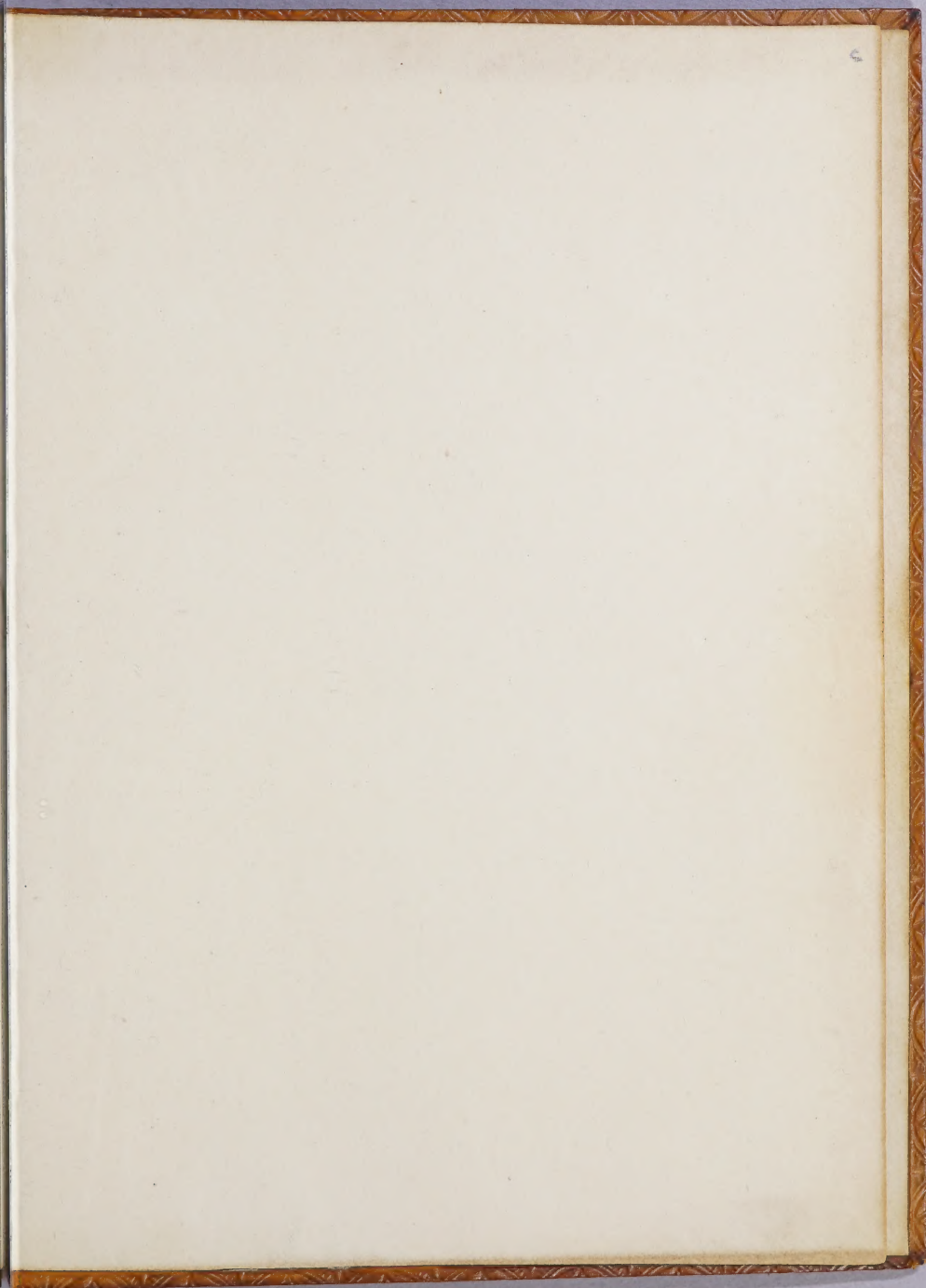
7 I beseech you consider, whether we lye not open to Gods stroke: is there not matter of provocation given him, by reason of these Divisions (that his worke stands at a stay) Errours, Schismes, Heresies, and decay of godlinesse that follows upon these, that he should take away the Liberties he hath given us, and make us feeble a heavie yoke againe? Surely these things will not be long borne. Mr. *Caryll* hath a sad speech, *God hath* Expos. on Job, c. 5. *begun to doe so many marvellis amongst us, that I verily beleve the worke he is about, will end in a marvell too; and we in the close shall be made either a wonder of Mercy, or a wonder of Judgement to all the Nations round about.*

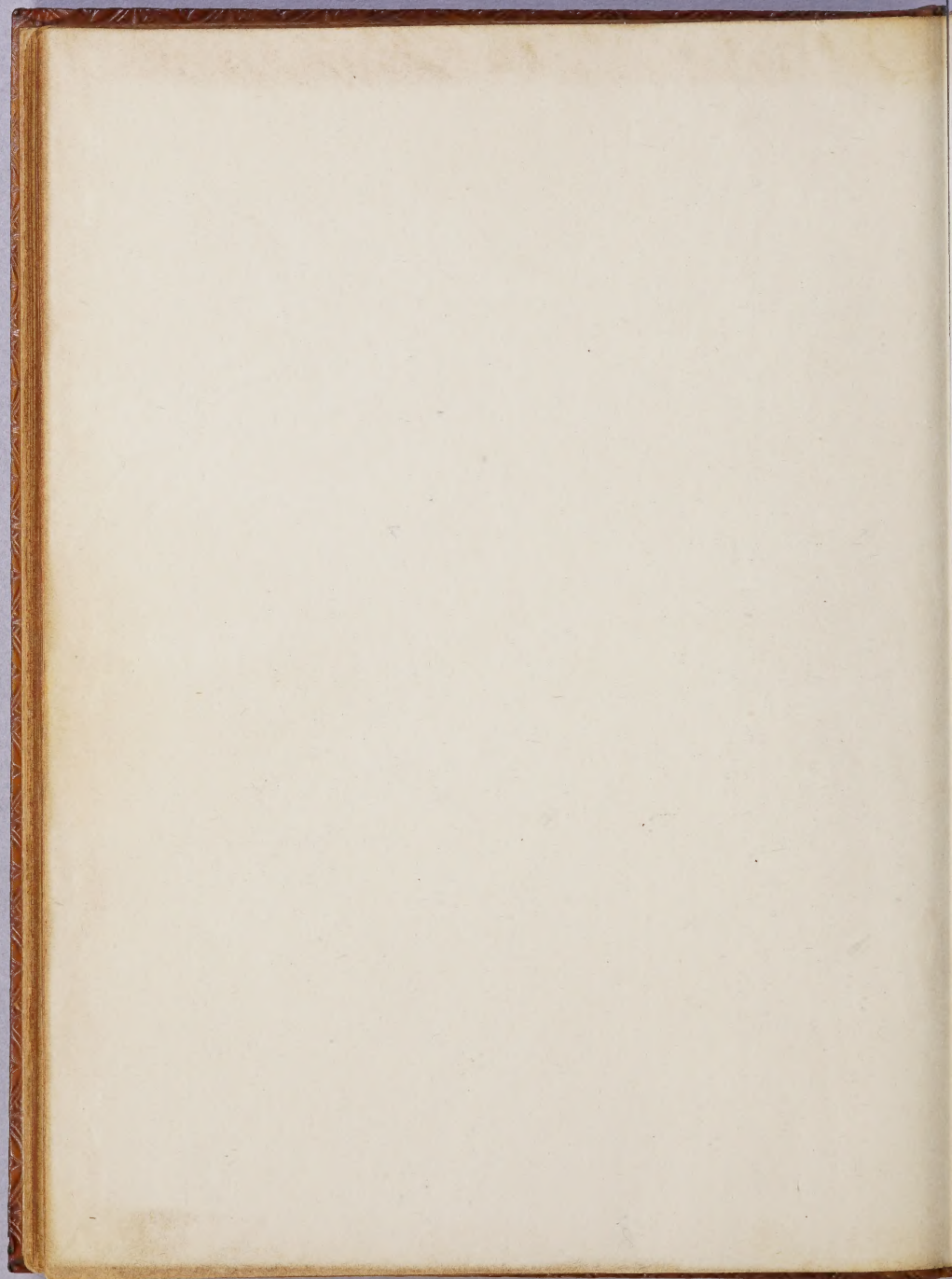
We are made indeed a wonder in regard of the strange Opinions, Heresies, Divisions, they wonder at us in *New England*; but till God sets up his Kingdome in our hearts, consisting in *righteousnesse, peace, and joyes of the Holy Ghost*, and sets up his King- Rom. 14. 17. dome in the Nation, riding in triumph in his Ordinances, converting of soules, and battering down the prophanenesse of our hearts, scattering our Errors and Schismes, we shall not be a wonder of mercy to other Nations; but if God shall be pleased to let our hearts feeble his inward Kingdome, and our eyes see his externall visible Kingdome after that manner exalted, then Lord, some of us care not how soone we fall asleep.











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